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THE CYCLE OF CRITICISM

Since the days of Kant, philosophers have often defined criticism as the attempt to mediate between skepticism and dogma. If literary men and interpreters and historians of the other arts would adopt this definition they would find that its implications would mellow the issue between impressionistic and judicial critics. Let us go on to assert that criticism is not a "subject," a detached branch of learning, but a phase. Criticism is an inevitable and frequently recurrent stage in all those cycles of thinking and acting which constitute human life. This corollary of ours will exorcise the phantom distinction between "creation" and "criticism." Finally, it will lead us on to a review of the requirements which must be fulfilled before we can say that we have learned how to study literature and the other arts by a genuinely scientific method. We shall see that at some recurrent stages in any normal behavior-cycle literary criticism is inevitably artistic in emphasis while at other stages its aim must be scientific.

It is probable that the futile attempt to sharpen an antithesis between "criticism" and "creation" and then to dub "criticism" parasitical or pedantic, destructive, or fault-finding has a wider vogue among English-speaking peoples because of the narrow meaning attached to the word "criticism" in the England of the eighteenth century and perhaps because of the proverbial Anglo-Saxon negligence of "ideas" as opposed to "facts." On the other hand, the French have not secured a more genuine precision by using *critique* for the

literary work of a Lemaitre or a Brunetière, *criticisme* for the German *kritik*, that is, for the epistemological researches of a Renouvier or for a Poincaré's analysis of scientific concepts. If the English use is too narrowly confined to fault-finding or to opinions of taste, the French choice of two words overemphasizes the real but not unbridgeable distinction between evaluation (appreciation) and scientific description.¹ Anatole France's account of the adventures of his soul among literary masterpieces, the gossip of painters in a studio about their technique, Boileau's rule-making for poets, Thomas Warton's attempt to approach *The Faërie Queene* through historical perspectives, Taine's search for formulas for the scientific description of English literature, Mach's inquiry into the meaning of "sensation" for physics and psychology, the organization of Göttingen seminars to winnow the data for humanistic sciences, and Kant's analysis of the antinomies that baffle the pure reason—all these works have in common the aspiration to mediate between skepticism and dogma; all involve appreciation and description. Only the proportions differ. Boileau accepted too many misleading traditions. But he could on occasion reason sturdily. Kant reduced our hopes for "the pure reason." But he sought to establish a rarefied faith. Poincaré's emphasis on hypothesis warns equally against intellectual paralysis and a false sense of security. All these writers, whatever their topics, passed through series after series of behavior-cycles essentially the same, of which criticism was but a phase, a phase common to all humanity, but a phase over which they tarried somewhat longer in passing than poet and peasant, merchant and statesman, and scientific experimentalist.

It follows that epistemology which asks how knowledge is possible—in so far as it rejects the two extremes of Pyrrhonism and authoritarianism—is the most critical kind of criticism. It is not likely that an individual can furnish an absolutely impregnable theory of knowledge—least of all within an essay of this scope. But he can reflect, he can read patiently enough to discern the progress manifest in the history of philosophy, and he can declare himself tentatively

¹ For a brief history of the word *criticisme* as contrasted with *critique*, cf. J. T. Merz, *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London, 1912), III, 97, n. 2.

but unequivocally. Such epistemological humility and openness is the open sesame to the city of honest fellowship.¹

If we return now to the French *critique* and *criticisme* and remember that the latter term serves to label knowledge-seeking work, while the former refers to valuing activities, we find ourselves confronted with two of our earlier observations: that knowing and valuing (of the more sophisticated sort) may be subsumed under our definition of criticism, yet knowledge and value have their differences. Value and knowledge are diverse enough to compete and co-operate.

There are still some thinkers who would make knowledge and value one. But in this essay we shall be at least consistent if we follow scientists and the majority of realistic philosophers in the contention that value and knowledge do not fuse in any enduring equilibrium—though I would insist that at times they aid each other and that each one would atrophy if it remained in perpetual isolation from the other.²

For the truth-seeker cognition is in the saddle. In the process of valuing, emotions and conations (ranging from desire and aversion to will) dominate. He who would know, be it the best or the worst of all possible universes, sets aside his likes or dislikes. An object is valuable only in so far as it is liked or disliked by some organism. A thing may exist whether you or I know it or not. But a Chinese coin is no medium of exchange, charity is no virtue, and Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale" is not a great poem save in the presence of one who cherishes them as useful, good, or beautiful in accordance with the peculiar appeal of each object to complexes of his emotions and conations which will be appropriate to the particular kind of value involved. This is to make value a relation.

¹ Temporarily, at least, I find most congenial the theory of knowledge called "critical realism." Cf. Drake, Pratt, Lovejoy, Rogers, Santayana, Sellars, and Strong, *Essays in Critical Realism* (New York, 1921); Roy Wood Sellars, *Evolutionary Naturalism* (Chicago and London, 1922); James Bisset Pratt, *Matter and Spirit* (New York, 1922); Arthur Kenyon Rogers, *The Nature of Truth* (New Haven, 1923); George Santayana, *Scepticism and Animal Faith* (New York, 1923); Charles Augustus Strong, *A Theory of Knowledge* (New York, 1923); Durant Drake, *Mind and Its Place in Nature* (New York, 1925). The writings of Arthur O. Lovejoy, with whom I believe that I have the most in common, are still unfortunately widely scattered. The quickest access to his work may be gained by a survey of the bound volumes of the notable philosophical magazines, e.g., the *Journal of Philosophy* and the *Philosophical Review*.

² I have offered a defense of this position and an account of its significance for aesthetics and the criticism of the arts in "The Interactions of Beauty and Truth," *Journal of Philosophy*, XXII, No. 15 (July 16, 1925), 393-402.

Such a view forces the frank admission that value is not objective. Does it follow that standards of taste are impossible? This would mean ultimately the denial of any socially communicable *critique*. It might well appear at this point that our only way out of the cul-de-sac is to define value as objective, i.e., a quality entirely in the object valued. This is the view of common sense. But the philosophers who defend it are growing fewer daily. And it would not salvage for us a *critique* socially communicable through the existence of standards in our universe of discourse. For the definition of value as a quality in an object leads implacably to the admission that beyond this point each value is indefinable. You say that value is an indefinable quality in an object? Reason cannot accept ultimates of this sort if there is any other reasonable way out.¹ As opposed to this objective view I believe that experience proves the relational definition of value to be (1) more adequate for value itself; (2) more illuminating as a basis for the explanation of the difference between value and knowledge and their interaction, thus enlightening us as to the relation between impressionistic and judicial criticism which praise and blame and scientific criticism which tells the truth; (3) perfectly reconcilable with a doctrine of standards and thus admitting a socially communicable *critique* which, like *criticisme*, will be concerned in its own way with the mediation between skepticism and dogma. Value, then, is a relation. In other words, an object is valuable (useful, good, or beautiful) in so far as it arouses in a person certain emotions and conations which differ with different value-relations.² Such values, while not purely objective, are not utterly subjective; they require both a thing valued,

¹ For an excellent account of the limitations of the objective theory of value cf. I. A. Richards, *The Principles of Literary Criticism* (London and New York, 1924), pp. 38 ff., in general a very important book although somewhat too large, perhaps, in its concessions to behavioristic psychology and decidedly too sweeping, I think, in its effort to divorce aesthetic experience and mysticism.

² I have attempted to differentiate the several values in "Usefulness, Goodness, and Beauty," *Journal of Philosophy*, XXI, No. 3 (January 31, 1924), 64-71, and "Beauty and Goodness, Art and Morality," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXVI, No. 4 (July, 1926). The best defense of the relational theory of values, to my mind, is by David W. Prall, *A Study in the Theory of Value*, "University of California Publications in Philosophy," Vol. 3, No. 2. This monograph is of special interest for literary critics and historians because it is by a man who, because of his dissatisfaction with the study of literature either as the mere accumulation of facts or the indulgence of loose appreciation, entered the field of philosophy. The final chapter of his essay is on literary criticism. I cannot begin to express my indebtedness to this essay. But I must add that I am not quite satisfied with its treatment of standards and of the possible relations between evaluation and scientific description.

with its various properties, and a valuer, with his emotions and conations. Such values may be reasoned about, if not so arrogantly as the older judicial critic thought, at least fruitfully enough to dispel the jaunty skepticism of the more extreme impressionistic critics and the fatalistic indifference of those scientific students of literature who are lost in antiquarian research.

Critique then, like *criticisme*, must mediate between skepticism and dogma. Must? What of those who have said that there is no disputing about tastes? Impressionistic critics are said to rest with this declaration. But find me a single one who has done so steadfastly. "Aelion was an ass," cries Anatole France with a finality that implies a standard or two. This is characteristic of all impressionists. Their skeptical tilt has been exaggerated by their foes. The fact that impressionistic critics write and publish attests their belief in the communicability of tastes and standards. Their work is usually the frank and glowing account of one man's taste. But it does not follow that they would discourage argument about it. They have questioned not standards but authority. And dogma cannot stand on its own legs, as William P. Montague has of late most effectively reminded us.¹ Why are the Ten Commandments profound? Because Moses uttered them. But why accept Moses? Because he reasoned coherently or because he observed well or because he had a subtle intuition of God's message or because he tried his doctrines and we have tried them and they work—in other words, because rationalism or empiricism or mysticism or pragmatism is a sound way of knowing or valuing. But this is to submit authority to critical analysis and purification or support. *Criticisme* and *critique* are inevitably recurrent phases of all behavior-cycles. They are distinguishable. But they can co-operate. And the wise man will try to prolong them whenever they recur.

If our organisms were perfect and the universe in absolute harmony life would consist of nothing but primordial liking, valuing. Neither *criticisme* nor *critique* would be necessary. But inner conflicts wage war in our pilgrim souls and obstacles lurk for us in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, Evil, and Ugliness. In these tragic imperfections John Dewey finds the causation of thought. It begins with a

¹ The sentences which follow in the text are condensed and paraphrased from an invincible analysis of authoritarianism in Montague, *The Ways of Knowing* (New York, 1925), pp. 40 ff.

"felt difficulty." The second step is the "location" of the difficulty, a diagnosis based on observation and classification. Third comes "the suggestion of a solution," the formation of a hypothesis. Fourth, we must needs "reason" about the solution, search out its deductive implications as we sit in our armchairs far from the madding facts, worshiping clean consistency, building forms of thought. Fifth, and last, comes the return to the facts, "further observation and experiment leading to" the "acceptance or rejection" of the suggested "solution" or hypothesis.¹

Whenever with a "felt difficulty" internal or external a new cycle of thought begins and we are shaken out of an evanescent period of delighted reverie or smooth automatic activity, then comes the opportunity to be a critic in the face of two temptations: (1) A man may be tempted to regress to a fool's paradise of reverie by falling back on authority, any authority which promises a quick "getaway" from his pain. No need to dwell here on the very dignified and respectable dogmas. But it is worth noting that sentimentalism is crude dogma of which one species is the "optimistic squint" which Owen Wister once declared our national malady. The sentimentalist who refuses with obstinate frivolity to accept the brute fact of his "felt difficulty" is simply a dogmatist who chooses for his authority his own fading daydreams and those of a mob of kindred Laodiceans. These slothful fantasies he declares to be more real than the realities which beleaguer him. That way madness lies: the preference of the pretty to the beautiful, the philistine idolatry of the increase of creature-comforts as "progress," the overvaluation of individual wealth to support these. Here we have the seeds of world-wars and revolutions. We should note here also the cynic whose dogma is an oversimplified facile explanation of the facts. Suppose, for instance, when some "felt difficulty" has led him to think, he reads that man first thought of personal immortality when in a trivial moment he caught a reflection of his hairy visage in a woodland stream. He is too weak to endure the pain of thinking long enough to discover with Aristotle and George Santayana that "everything ideal has a natural basis and everything natural an ideal development." It is easier to accept an easily attained unpleasant conclusion than to struggle in the fell clutch of circumstance with the pain of thinking that promises no paradise. Why not

¹ Cf. Dewey, *How We Think*.

then conclude at once that a cathedral is naught but an expression of cowering fear? The conclusion is disappointing. But at least it relieves the tension of uncertain questing thought and allows one to relax into the reposeful attitude of the man with the muckrake. (2) A troubled soul may follow a line of least resistance more immediate in its devastating influence than dogmatic sentimentalism or cynicism; he may be tempted to doubt anyone's ability to reach a solution. He may become a palsied skeptic. But if he surmounts these two temptations he becomes the critic, the meliorist.

The man who presses on to the "location" the diagnosis of the difficulty resorts to a wide-ranging observation and classification of facts. Observation and classification are of course the mere *a b* of scientific method. Unfortunately, they still remain the last stages of a great deal of so-called scientific literary criticism and history. Romantic indulgence of our more primitive mental contents, emotions, and sudden impulses lead to a repudiation of the humdrum present for the strange and therefore wonderful past. Antiquarianism is thus one of the many restless activities of the romantic spirit. But only the sentimentalist or cynic or doctrinaire or skeptic would condemn these beginnings of scientific literary criticism. One need but contrast man's knowledge of classical culture in the days of Pico della Mirandola with that of the age of Sir Gilbert Murray. Even more dramatic is the growth of understanding of medieval literature in the shorter period that extends from the Walpole of Strawberry Hill to George Lyman Kittredge.

But the process of thinking proceeds, as Dewey shows, to a third stage, hypothesis-making. In this exalted phase criticism is quite properly at a low ebb. A man must be susceptible to an epical faith. Such critical impulse as he may have at this time is impressionistic. His sensibilities must vibrate. His emotions must flow swift and deep like the arrowy river toward some oceanic embrace. This is true not only for poet and musician but for the scientist who at this imaginative stage of striding analogies must be fairly mystical in his susceptibility to the affinities which draw remote things like stars and tides and which account for the resistance to the demolisher of the invisible molecules of diamond and Damascan blade. He hears hidden harmonies and detects vast furtive caresses.

But even the mystic knows that such ecstasies are followed by

periods of "dryness." Once more man is tempted to become dogmatist or skeptic and give up the Odyssean voyage of thought in some snug, snug port. But the critic will here mediate between dogma and skepticism in a fourth stage, the deductive examination of the implications of his hypothesis, a stage of judicial criticism par excellence, but also a stage for scientific criticism as soon as it comes to make a more intensive use of logic and mathematics. For it is at this point that the most venerable sciences in scrutinizing their own hypotheses have availed themselves of the perfect deductions of mathematics. There is no reason to suppose that mathematical deduction will not prove available for the scientific study of literature. Indeed, there are already a few pioneers among us; Edith Rickert, for instance, in her analysis of literary styles at the University of Chicago. And while we await the conquest of mathematics for literary criticism there is no excuse for the neglect of the severe logical analysis of literary hypotheses. We spend disproportionate effort on the search for the predecessors and imitators of Zola, for example, while failing to search deeply for the implications of his program for the experimental novel. What epistemology does he presuppose? Or do conflicting epistemologies undermine his whole edifice? Does he understand the true meaning of experiment? Compare what he says about determinism with what a celebrated contemporary scientist like J. H. Jeans tells us about the same concept¹ in his account of the conflicting attitudes underlying the great frontier-theories of relativity and the quantum of energy. But while seeking the mote in his victim's eye let the truly scientific critic at each recurrent fourth or deductive stage in his behavior-cycles pluck out his own beam by making sure that he knows just what he himself means when he uses the words "form," "content," "meaning," "style," "realism," "romanticism," "classicism," "expression," "goodness," "sublimity," "truth," "beauty," "genre," "facts," "history," and all the rest of his very stock-in-trade.

The judicial critic, as he meditates on the plausibility of a standard formed in the now waning glow of the third stage, will return to the C-major of life in the sober deductive fourth stage by asking first of all in what sense may standards exist midway between the despair of the skeptics and the arrogance of the dogmatists. For us in this essay

¹ Cf. his "Address," published in *Nature*, February 29, 1926.

the logical situation may seem acute. We stand committed, if we admit a difference between value and knowledge, to the admission that beauty and truth are not the same. If we entertain the hypothesis that a thing is valuable only in so far as related to an individual dominated by emotions and conations, we must accept the logical consequence that what is beautiful for one may for another be ugly. But it does not follow that two such individuals may not, if they choose, reason about their conative-affective attitudes. And the more we reason about values the more we are forced to appeal to cognitive attitudes, to knowledge. We seek information. We must tell the truth about works of art, whether or not these works of art themselves attempt to tell the truth as well as to be beautiful. Truth thus becomes an auxiliary to the discussion of beauty. Before we can decide whether the Miltonic or the stricter Petrarchan sonnet is more beautiful we must see to it that both contestants are aware of the truth that the English poet welded sestet and octave more closely by enjambment. In order to choose between the relative aesthetic merits of the symphonies of Mozart and César Franck we must state correctly the facts about the Belgian composer's use of generative motives. A defense of the paintings of Matisse as beautiful is pretty sure to be supported by true propositions about the unusual devices he employed for producing on canvas the illusion of the third dimension. A sculptor's statement that it is bad art to make a bowstring of clay is a mere expression of a dislike, a value judgment. But he will strive to support it by telling the truth about various properties of clay. And we tell the truth when what we say the sculptor said corresponds with what he actually said, whether or not his taboo on clay bowstrings is or is not justified by the facts about clay or by his personal dislikes.

Of what significance are these truths for values? Here we come to an old question. Are the values of the learned man in any sense more valuable than those of the vulgar? Should the preferences of the expert be accorded any prestige? Has the well-informed man a richer, deeper, more intense conative-affective attitude? Is an expert learned? He is. Skill may be in part instinctive. But all psychologists today are agreed that skill is in large part learned. And such learning involves not merely muscular practice but the acquisition of theories. While the athlete plunges at a tackling-dummy his coach tells him

how to do it and why he should do it in a certain way. But does learning desiccate emotion? It is an old superstition that connoisseurship is gained only at the cost of atrophied feelings and desires, that warm enthusiasms give way to feeble querulousness. But common sense (in its saner moods) and psychology know that restraint sharpens gusto in contrast with indulgence which leads straight to satiety and on to the impotent disgust of the burnt-out *roué*. The accumulation of truths has been said to dull spontaneity. Are the naïve, then, more spontaneous? No; for the naïve are guided by common sense. And common sense is the mass of uncriticized opinions of a community. This includes superstitions. And superstitions inhibit whereas the growth of the scientific control of nature has shown that science makes us free. The genuinely sophisticated man, then, is really more consistently and finely spontaneous than the naïve. The learned man has been emancipated from the chilling unknown, the skilful man has been freed from his clumsiness to feel and to desire profoundly and audaciously. It follows that the expert cherishes higher values than the philistine, the sentimentalist, the idolator, the trifler, and the cynic. By all means let our values be supported by knowledge and reason.

Standards, then, are possible. And well-reasoned values are more valuable than primitive values. But are standards eternal verities? This dispute would soon prove idle if literary men would once for all admit with the scientist that all our generalizations are hypotheses of various degrees of probability in accordance with the extent to which they have been deductively analyzed and then resubmitted to the facts. We are here at one not only with the scientists but with the great religious seers who admit the imperfection of knowledge, the need of faith, and the indispensability of righteous living as a kind of experimental test of the workability of our beliefs in God, freedom, and immortality. Thus we cut the Gordian knot which has so long held in deadlock judicial literary critics with their more or less uncritical authoritarianism and impressionistic literary critics in so far as they drift toward skepticism. Let us now seek some of the practical consequences of a frank admission that standards of taste are hypotheses. A single illustrative example will throw a spotlight on all significant implications. Racine obeyed the canons of the unities. Corneille chafed under them. Shakespeare ignored them. Yet all three have

been acclaimed great. Old-fashioned judicial criticism concluded that Shakespeare was a gifted barbarian who might have been a great artist if he had known and obeyed the rules. Romanticism rejoined that the growing taste for Shakespeare exposed the homicidal pedantry of the champions of the unities. An impressionism sufficiently skeptical would generalize this into the denial of all standards. But take all these theories back to the facts. We find that long after the drama was emancipated from the unities Ibsen used them in *Hedda Gabler*. Manifestly they served well his peculiar technique, the limitation of his play to crucial moments, the adroit insinuations of bits of his characters' past into the swift dialogue of the present. Hedda Gabler is shown at her pitch of pride. Her prolonged sinister achievements are revealed in the casual allusions of a few passing moments. The brief time, the limited space, the rapier-thrust action dash her to ruin with an abruptness appalling in its contrast with the equally appalling success of a long career of evil. Thus new facts justify the unities as at least capital instruments for the attainment of rapidity of action and concentration and intensity of emotional effect. This is the way science treats hypotheses. It is slow to accept, slow to scrap them. It takes them back again and again to the facts. It revises them.

The history of scientific hypotheses suggests a great hope for the future of aesthetic standards once they are treated as hypotheses. On the whole, the "laws" of nature which science has gradually verified have endured the test of eternal vigilance. For all the talk about "Copernican revolutions" relativity now shows the truth in Ptolemaic astronomy while further supporting Copernicus. The study of radioactivity throws new light on the doctrine of the elements yet also salvages the element of truth in the beliefs of the alchemists. The momentary distrust which shook astronomers when they found discrepancies in the orbit of Uranus as calculated by Herschel on well-known principles lead, through the work of Adams, Leverrier, and Galle, to the discovery of Neptune and the triumphant reassertion of order in the tremendous spaces of our solar system and our galaxy. Newtonian mechanics are merely refined by the genius of Einstein. If, then, we are humble enough to call standards of taste "hypotheses" and subject them to scientific verifications and reverifications, may

we not be rewarded by finding them to be "laws" of nature and human nature? And this would leave to a faith sufficiently sober and fearless to endure repeated scrutiny the right to believe that these purified standards are probably eternal verities subject at worst to occasional limiting or broadening refinement.

Literary men, even those who defend judicial criticism, have grown too evasive of late to list specific standards lest the mention of them spell their annihilation. Fortunately for us, the philosophers are more candid and courageous. Recently De Witt H. Parker has collected an interesting list.¹ (1) "The complete use of the medium": For example, "Unless the *vers-libristes* can show some positive gain in expression,—a power to do something that normal verse cannot do, their work must rank lower than normal verse, which makes fuller use of the rhythmical possibilities of language." (2) "The unique use of the material": We compare the arts with each other. And we see no reason for "poetry to be merely imagistic or merely musical when we have another art that can give us much better pictures and still another that can give us much better music." (3) The use of the medium "to delight the senses" to such a degree as to compel us to feel at one "with the object expressed." (4) The "range and vision of the [artistic] object," the "depth and breadth of the aesthetic experience" which a work of art is capable of evolving in a susceptible contemplator: "A Velasquez is greater than a Peter De Hooch because, in addition to an equal beauty of expression through color and line and composition, an equal dominion over light and space, it contains a marvelous revelation of the inner life, which is absent from the latter." (5) "Freshness": The avoidance where possible of "well-worn" expressions however great the utilitarian value of their facile repetition for the humdrum of practical life. (6) "Spontaneity and inner necessity, the signs of a genuine, as opposed to a factitious, expression. If we get the impression from a work of art that no part could be otherwise—not a single line or note or stroke of the brush—then we have the same sort of feeling towards it that we have towards the living thing that was not made by hands capriciously, but *grew* in its inevitable way in accordance with the laws of its own nature." This implies (7) "restraint," which might almost be segregated as a stand-

¹ *The Principles of Aesthetics* (Boston and New York, 1920), pp. 135 ff.

ard itself. "Compose your passion, we say to the musician; pattern it forth, we say to the poet; it will not lose its vigor; rather it will acquire a new power." These last three standards involve questions of form and content, unity and variety, just as the first two involve technique, the third and fourth a sensitive *rapprochement* with our fellows as well as with our medium. Finally, we stress two more principles which Parker plainly and justly conceives of as standards. (8) A work of art must be loyal to the autonomy of art. It may portray but it must not be ruled by religious creeds, moral codes, sciences, economic or political activities, parochialism, nationalism, the *Zeitgeist*. (9) A work of art is bound to reveal a continuity (which should be significant) with other works of the same artist with the same genre and with the spacious history of all the arts. Consequently, no man in a partisan mood, an idolator of his childhood tastes, a narrow patriot, a sectarian, a puritan, a philistine, a devotee of momentary fads, can judge aesthetically a work of art in agreement with a majority of experts.¹

Already in our advocacy of the treatment of standards as hypotheses and the frequent return with them to the facts we had passed from the third through the fourth to the last stage of thought, the fifth, which Dewey describes as "further observation and experiment" culminating in "the acceptance or rejection" of our "suggested solution." We should study comprehensively the tastes of experts and mobs. Something but all too little for the survey of the taste of experts has been done by way of "collective criticism," suggested in one way or another by Hennequin, John McKinnon Robertson, and others, studies of the history of the reputations of individual authors at the hands of their critics of various generations and countries. Practically nothing has been done by way of statistical examination of the tastes of the crowds in the street although this would be illuminating not only to the historian but even at times to the puzzled connoisseur.²

The kind of observation involved in a relatively mature fifth stage of a behavior-cycle should obviously be more synthetic than the rela-

¹ In addition to Parker's work we should read and adapt for all the arts the principles of musical criticism boldly and sanely formulated by W. H. Hadow, *Studies in Modern Music* (8th ed.; London, 1909), pp. 22 ff. Hadow's standards correspond very closely with Parker's. Although they are fewer in number they are individually more comprehensive.

² Professor Edward Stevens Robinson, of the Department of Psychology of the University of Chicago, is at work on some illuminating observations of the taste of the man of the street in picture galleries.

tively primitive observation at the first confusing onset of a "felt difficulty." Here again the established sciences can teach literary critics who aspire to be scientific a profound lesson. Already the physicist and the chemist have, by combining their investigations, revolutionized our conception of matter. Close on the heels of the physical chemists, already exultant with new perspectives and on the threshold of epoch-making discoveries, come the investigations of the still younger synthetic science of biochemistry. The present entente between the biological sciences and psychology, although it has produced a few mordantly narrow "behaviorists" has wonderfully clarified much of the study of the human individual. The age of specialization has not fled. It is, in fact, the fulfilment of one of the most fundamental of the tendencies of organic evolution. But by breaking down the more artificial boundaries between branches of learning which were defined in less enlightened days we are saving ourselves from standing aghast before a new Tower of Babel. Far in the rear of this forward movement lag the students of literature and the other arts. And for this they are justly censured by their colleagues in the more progressive sciences. The scientific literary critics should lose no time in combining their findings with those of biology, ethnology, and psychology.

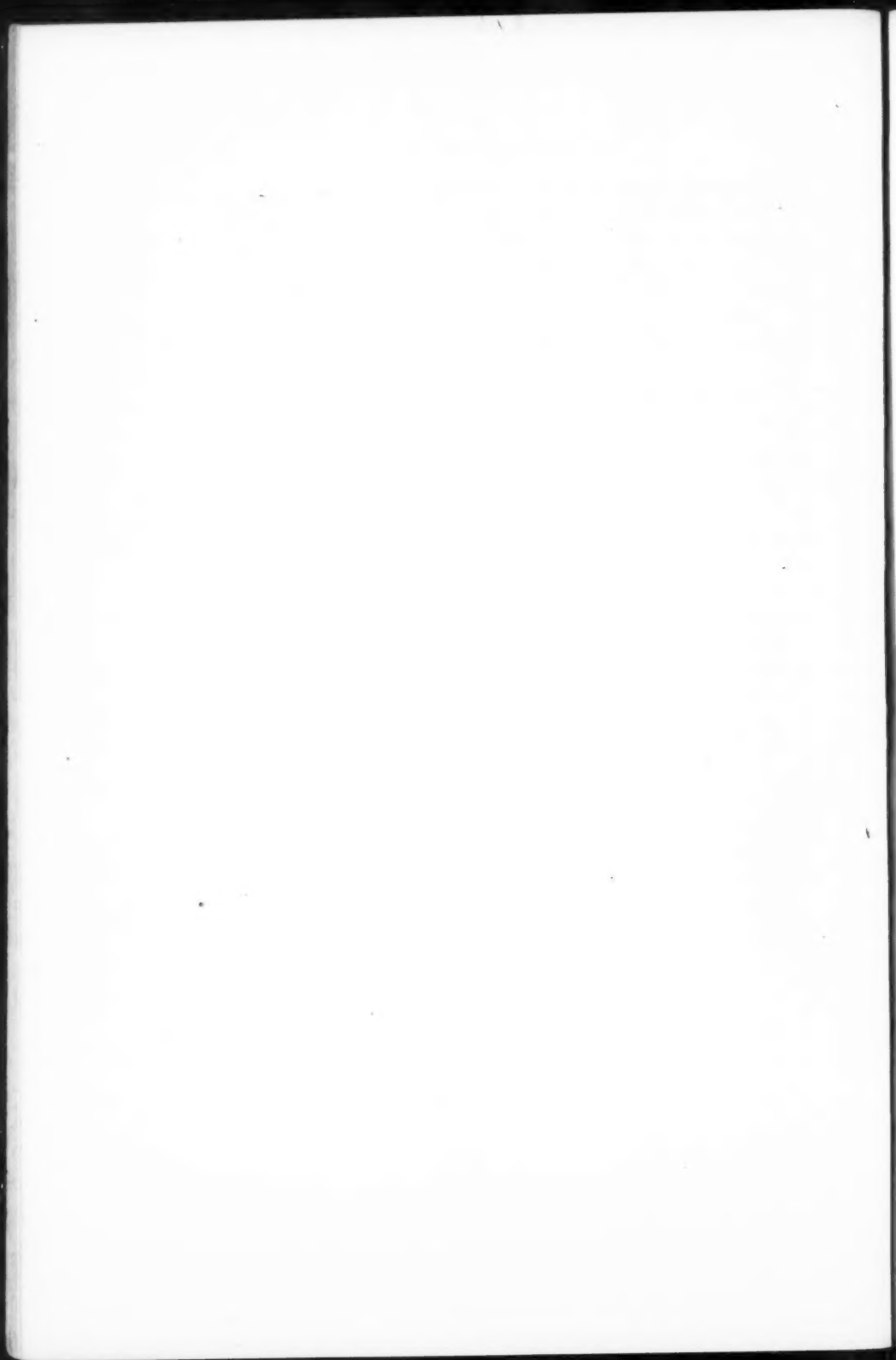
The most refined activity of the fifth stage is of course experiment. If the scientific critic of literature succeeds in assimilating this technical achievement of the greatest sciences he will obviously deal with contemporary phenomena. The naturalistic traditions in the novel, the drama, poetry, painting, sculpture, and even music have already brought these genres and science into closer *rapport*. And the composers of these arts are likely at any moment now to subject themselves to the experimental investigations of a literary critic who can combine a rich knowledge of the arts of the past with a good technical equipment in biology and psychology.

Rhythmically, throughout the five thoughtful stages of every behavior-cycle criticism waxes at the crisis to mediate between dogma and skepticism and wanes as actions and thoughts flow for a while unhampered. This criticism is in all of us by turns impressionistic, judicial, and scientific. The professional critic is simply a man who lingers at these crises while others rush on more carelessly.

To Auguste Comte, the history of mankind was divided into three periods: the religious, philosophical, and the scientific. In the world's dawn men, he thought, were religious. Then with widening enlightenment they turned their warmly colored myths into the cool, clear crystals of concepts. They saw no more the breasts of the nymph in the brake. Pan was dead. The gradual curves of the seafoam no longer suggested a cradle for the exquisite limbs of Aphrodite. Men argued with spare, sinewy dialectic about the meaning of nature, goodness, love, truth. This was the age of philosophy. Then came the age of positive science, an age of the discovery of the majestic spectacle of a slowly dying universe, an age of tragic insight and stoic resignation but comforting at least as an age of truth. But Comte's theory needs to be corrected by the contradiction of it which he lived. For did he not himself pass on again from his scientific vigils to religious enthusiasms? He devised what he inadequately called the "religion of humanity" and was fain to trick it out with a pompous array of priests and rituals. Comte's cycle, in short, was one which the race passes through not once, but again and again in the lifetime of an individual, in a year, in an hour. Comte's account was not a history of dead epochs, it was really a sketch of the living psychological and logical processes of human beings past and present. Comte described stages which occur and recur at ever higher levels of maturity, the rhythm of the soul. And in this flux of faith and fear, exultant imagination and humble observation, cunning logic and delicate experimentation, criticism strengthens us at each crisis when, remembering Swinburne's "Hope thou not much and fear thou not at all," we gaze like Milton's eagle in the *Areopagitica* with undazzled eye at the noon-day beam.

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"THE EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES"

The theme which is best known as "The Emperor's New Clothes" in the version of Hans Christian Andersen or as *Der Talisman* in the dramatic version of Ludwig Fulda moves in the lower levels of literature rather than in the realm of folk-tales.¹ Its history is consequently difficult to trace, since neither the literary historian nor the folk-lore scholar has troubled himself much about it. Yet its history has interest and value as revealing the sources and influence of more than one literary document of intrinsic worth and for raising the question why this story failed to catch popular fancy.

The versions of the theme fall into several well-marked groups within which the literary relationships are usually unmistakable. All exemplify the idea: knaves will lie for their own supposed advantage, even if the act involves boldfaced deception. In the first group the fraud turns on a picture which does not exist, but which the courtiers nevertheless see and describe because they fear to tell the simple truth. A second group employs a cloth or a garment in the same way. In the last group we may put those tales which have no easily recognizable relations among themselves (or with anything else) beyond the possession of the common theme.

The form of the story considered first is characterized by the trait that lying courtiers claim to see a non-existent picture. It occurs

¹ Comparatively little work has been done on this story; see particularly M. Landau, "Das Märchen vom Blendwerk und von des Kaisers neuen Kleidern auf seiner Wanderung durch die Weltliteratur," *Bühne und Welt*, I (1899), 969-75. The title promises rather more than the article performs, for Landau has collected many stories which show only a remote similarity, e.g., *Pañcatantra*, III, 3 (a man is convinced by sharpers that a goat is a pig; cf. Chauvin, II, 96; Benfey, I, 355, etc.); *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 132 (a man is made to believe that he has leprosy); Boccaccio, VIII, 3, and IX, 3; Grimm, No. 149, etc. The article is more serviceable for its summaries of a few otherwise inaccessible examples of the theme than for indicating connections and relations. The prefatory remarks in the American school-editions are not helpful and are indeed frequently misleading. The best survey of the parallels to the story is found in A. Wesselski, *Die Begebenheiten der beiden Gonnella* (Weimar, 1920), pp. 133-34, No. 34.

A play by Rud. Genée, *Das Wunder*, which was presented in Berlin in 1854, has been inaccessible both to Landau and to me. V. Chauvin (*Bibliographie*, II, 156) cites Prévost, *Œuvres choisies*, XXXV, 411-15; but I do not find anything apposite in the editions available.

in two distinct traditions, German and Italian, which presumably have a common origin. Beyond sharing this possible common origin the two traditions have maintained themselves without interaction. The German tradition begins with an episode in the Stricker's *Pfaffe Amts*, a Middle High German collection of stories in which a priest plays a prominent but rather unclerical rôle. Composed before 1236, it is the first in the long line of German jestbooks. It preserves many timeworn tales, notably an early European parallel to the English ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury. Simplicity and directness of style distinguish the Stricker among Middle High German writers. His version of "The Emperor's New Clothes" is as follows:

At the Parisian court Amts declares he can paint pictures which only those begotten in lawful wedlock can see. The king commissions him to paint the wall of a hall and gives him as advance payment money and food. Amts locks himself up and paints—nothing. When the day comes to show his results neither the king nor the court see what Amts describes as pictures from the Old Testament (Solomon, David, Absalom), Alexander's campaigns, Rome, and Babylon (the tower of Babel). Yet all praise the work to turn aside any accusation of illegitimacy. Only after Amts departs and a fool asserts that he sees nothing is the fraud disclosed.¹

This tale fails to seize the opportunity for a striking dénouement in the disclosure of the trick played upon the court. The bald and rather stupid close shows a peasant's interest in easy profits:

dô wart ein michel spot
dâ ze hove und ein grôzer schal.
ze jungist sprâchens' über al:
"dirre phaffe ist ein karc man,
daz er sus guot bejagen kan."

Like other episodes in *Pfaffe Amts* this story is copied in the Eulenspiegel jestbook. By slight alterations the compiler has improved it somewhat, but he has not materially bettered the weak conclusion. Eulenspiegel declares he has painted the line of Hessian landgraves, and points them out one by one. The king's fool, who is a woman, acknowledges her inability to see the pictures and discloses the fraud.²

¹ See Lambel, *Erzählungen und Schwänke* (1883), pp. 40–50, ll. 491–804.

² J. M. Lappenberg, *Dr. Thomas Murners Eulenspiegel* (Leipzig, 1854), pp. 35 ff., No. 27; cf. pp. 244–45; *Neudrucke* (ed. W. Braune), Nos. 55–56; p. 38, No. 27. See E. Kadlec, *Prager deutsche Studien*, XXVI (1916), 17–23. The corresponding chapter in the English translation published by William Copland is reprinted in *Notes and Queries* (5th ser.; July 26, 1879), XII, 62–63.

In his turn Hans Sachs borrowed the story from the jestbook (keeping the name Eulenspiegel) and made it into both a *Meistergesang* and a *Schwank*, but the differences between the two texts are insignificant.¹ At the beginning there are verbal reminiscences of the Eulenspiegel text. Inventions of Hans Sachs are the substitution of the burning of Troy for the Hessian landgraves as subjects of the putative pictures and the change in the sex of the court fool, who is now a man. Beyond these changes he has shortened the story considerably, to its great improvement. He concludes with an appropriate proverb:

Auf kam das sprichwort diese zeit:
Die narren sagen die warheit,
Treff unter oder ober on.²

Apparently the vitality of the Stricker's jest continues undiminished in later years, for I find mention of Ludwig Woltmann, *Till Eulenspiegels Malerkunst*,³ which is an obvious derivative of the same tradition. In the line of oral descent from *Pfaffe Amis* stands a folk-tale told by the Shawaites, a small group residing in what is now Poland. The emphasis on the good living which the scoundrel enjoys at the dupes' expense reminds one of the *Pfaffe Amis*, although such a similarity is probably without significance. The story displays what is said to be a locally frequent and typical motif, the ridicule of the Germans.

A man promises to show the country-folk heaven with God, the angels, and the apostles, but only the legitimately born will be able to see it. On the strength of promises and representations he lives for three months at a German's expense and finally cheats the German of a thousand rubles. Although the Germans of the neighborhood are invited to the spectacle the fraud is not disclosed.⁴

¹ *Fabeln und Schwänke* (ed. Goetze, 1893), I, 487-89, No. 171 (written March 22, 1556), and VI (1913), 209-11, No. 976 (written on the same day).

² Cf. Handschin, *Das Sprichwort bei Hans Sachs* (Madison, 1904), p. 95. "Kinder und narren die warheit sagen" is the usual form; see Handschin, p. 72; Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörterlexikon*, II, 1296, Nos. 570-74. It is in Gruter, *Florilegium Ethico-Politicum* (Frankfurt, 1610-12), among the English proverbs; see Taylor, "Proverbia Britannica," *Washington University Studies*, XI (1924), No. 75; Heywood, No. 38; Camden, *Remaines concerning Britaine* (1614), p. 305; and in Lyly's *Endymion* (1591). See another form in Wander, III, 911, No. 783, and 912, No. 794; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter der germanischen u. romanischen Völker*, I, 85, No. 151. The last line is open to several interpretations. I am indebted to my friend Professor Richard Jente for information about this proverb and others mentioned later.

³ *Deutsches Dichterheim*, XI (1891), No. 23, reprinted in *Deutsche Dichtersalle*, XX, 424. I have not seen the poem and owe the references to Bolte's notes on Hans Sachs (ed. cit.), I, viii.

⁴ Miecyslaw Sylwestrowicz, *Podania swujdzkie* (Warsaw, 1894), p. 283, "Okiezu dangus [The German Heaven]." I have not seen the book and follow Landau's summary.

And with this the German tradition, begun by the Stricker, appropriately ceases so far as the evidence in my hands is concerned.

The concurrent, but quite independent, Italian tradition takes rise in a Latin *exemplum* which was written down in Italy. In the stock of *exempla* the theme appears to be rare, for I find no other instance in J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of romances in the British Museum*, Volume III. The manuscript which was written by a Franciscan in the north of Italy in the early fifteenth century brings together many hackneyed *exempla* and several of more infrequent occurrence.¹ The text, hitherto unpublished, shows a close relationship to the story in *Pfaffe Amts*. It is as follows:

Quidam ystrio intrauit quandam curiam Cui rex curie dixit quid scis facere Qui Respondit scio peroptime pingere et ymagines formare Cui Rex volo ut depinguas palatium meum Respondit ille libenter domine sed tibi unum dicere scio nemo potest uidere picturas meas si fuerit coruca uel illegitime natus uel proditor domini sui fecit ergo ystrio poni cortinas circha palatium ubi debebat pingere post aliquos uero dies dixit ystrio domine uenite et uidete pulciores picturas deinde tunc rex intrauit cum militibus suis palatium ut opus uiderent Cumque rex huc atque illuc prospiceret nichil uidit quippe quia nulla pictura ibi erat Sed timens ne corucha uel nothus putaretur dixit se nunquam pulciores ymagines et picturas uidisse similiter dixerunt et alii Cum inde recessisset dixit unus ex militibus regi domine credo ne habere a deo ita fidam et bonam uxorem sicut sit in ciuitate ista² habui etiam bonos parentes nec sum proditor unde sum paratus sum substinere in prelio quod nichil uideo similiter et alii sic dixerunt tunc rex dixit se similiter nil uidere et ystrio ita illuxit omnes Sic illudit diabolus peccatores et mundo deditos quia ea que in rei ueritate nulla sunt apparare fecit preciosa et cara uerbi gratia sicut sunt diuitie potentia fortitudo pulcritudo nobilitas.

In this *exemplum* the most interesting trait is perhaps the mention of marital infidelity which appears in a later Italian version as well.

The persistence of the story in Italian tradition appears from its inclusion in a verse biography of Gonnella, a famous court fool: *Le Bouffonnerie de Gonnella, cosa piaceuole et da ridere*, Florence, 1585.³ In all significant matters this second Italian version follows the usual track. New are the following details: the scene is the court of a

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. 27336, No. 333; cf. J. A. Herbert, *Cat. of Rom.*, III, 672.

² An *e* is crossed out after the *i*.

³ Most easily accessible in a German translation (A. Wesselski, *Die Begebenheiten der beiden Gonnella* [Weimar, 1920], pp. 80-81, No. 33; cf. p. 133). It has been reprinted, according to Wesselski, by F. Gabotto (*Le epopee del buffone*, Bra, 1893 [Nozze Manzoni-Ricca]).

Mantuan margrave, the supposed picture represents a hunt which in Hercules and Dejanira are seen, the deluded audience is a Venetian ambassador and his entourage. A disclosure of the fraud is withheld by all as a courtesy to the margrave and his guest, the ambassador. And a modern Italian folk-tale gives evidence that the tale is not yet forgotten. The rather numerous changes in the tale's structure seem to indicate oral transmission and preservation. The tale is briefly as follows:

The town of Casale wants a picture of its patron saint, to be finished by his "day." The painter begins and soon shows his supposed work to the priest, who thinks it very fine. The painter refuses to show it to anyone except the priest. Later on the priest asks him how it is coming on and the painter says it isn't getting on well at all, perhaps because the people here are so sinful. The priest says, "Well, I'll tell them to be sure to come and confess to me." He did so, and all the people came to confess.

On the eve of the saint's day the painter shows the picture to the priest, who finds it very beautiful. The painter says, "I warn you, however, to have the people confess completely, because if they don't they won't see anything." The priest reports this to the people.

The painter, during the night, paints the whole thing white. On the next morning the people crowd into the church to see the new picture. The priest tells them to look attentively because it is so beautiful. They uncover the painting and no one sees anything. The priests tell them it is because they have failed to confess their sins. He himself, however, finally comes around and looks at the painting and sees nothing, and at the end bursts out, "Well, if I must admit it, I can't see anything either."¹

Concerning the antecedent history of the following story I am very little informed, but the localization in Naples leads me to group it with the Italian tradition. This grouping is perhaps confirmed by the presence of the trait of marital infidelity which was noted in the *exemplum*. The scene and temper of this literary tale agree with the Pistoian folk-tale. The story is as follows:

A starving painter agrees to paint the Virgin in the dome of the little Italian church. But instead of performing his task he spends his time in eating, drinking, and sleeping behind locked doors, while the church wall remains as white as chalk. On the day of the unveiling of the picture, which, according to announcement, is visible only to those of legitimate parentage, all

¹ R. Nerucci, *Racconti popolari pistoiensi in vernacolo pistoiense* (Pistola, 1901), pp. 105-7, No. 41, "Ve l'ha a di? Nun vedo nulla neanch io!" Mr. John W. Spargo kindly transcribed this tale for me and Professor E. H. Wilkins has interpreted the *vernacolo pistoiense*.

burst into cries of enthusiasm. A little fellow who sees nothing is slapped for his honesty. "Keep your mouth shut," says his father. "When we get home I shall beat your mother black and blue, the shameless creature."¹

Probably not to be separated from this Italian story is a superstitious practice in Croatia. At a spot where the Virgin is said to have revealed herself to a woman the peasants have built a hut. Only the sinless can see the Virgin in it. Efforts to tell the truth are rewarded with blows. Attempts to destroy the hut have been prevented by the peasantry.²

In Spain, Juan Timoneda, who presumably drew on some Italian source, included the story in a collection of jest and repartee, *El Buen Aviso y Portacuentos*.³ The little volume which seems to have been preserved in but a single copy contains several old and widely told stories and although it is of interest on that account, it lacks distinction on any other score. In particular the story of the credulous king and the shrewd painter has no merits which raise it above other versions. As usual, variety and ingenuity appear only in the scenes on the canvas or supposed to be on the canvas: Diana bathes with her nymphs and Actaeon is torn by dogs. It has been said that Cervantes found in this story the suggestion for his amusing *entremés*, *El retablo de las maravillas* (Madrid, 1615).⁴ In this play Cervantes represents on the stage an audience deluded into believing the assertions of the stage-manager about the stage and the actors. No one who has Jewish blood in his veins or who is of illegitimate birth, the stage-manager says, can see the wonders of the theater. The spectators, with the exception of hard-headed Capacho, are led to see Samson clasp the pillars of the temple, a mad bull, a swarm of rats, a shower of rain, the dance of Herodias. The disclosure of the fraud is prevented by the timely entrance of the military guard seeking quarters for the night. At best

¹ Almerigo Ribera, *Berliner Tageblatt* (June 16, 1901), as cited by A. Andrae (*Rom. Forsch.* XVI [1904], 343).

² *Volkskunde* (Ghent, 1890), III, 43.

³ Schevill, *Revue hisp.*, XXIV (1911), 207-9, No. 49.

⁴ *Comedias y entremeses* (ed. Schevill and Bonilla; Madrid, 1918), IV, 105-23; cf. p. 226. It was adapted by Bertuch (*Das wunderthätige Puppenspiel* [Museumalmanach, Lemberg, 1788]) and by Herman Kurz (1868), but I have been unable to see these. It is translated by E. Fahnestock and F. D. White (*Post-Lore*, XXXII [1921], 234-43). Contrary to Kadlec's assertion (*Prager dt. Stud.*, XXVI, 18) Cervantes probably did not utilize Juan Manuel's version in *El Conde Lucanor*.

Kadlec's reference (p. 18) to a parallel in Timoneda, *Patrañuelo*, (Alcalá, 1576), is wrong. The source of the error is found on p. 501 of Dunlop-Liebrecht, *Geschichte der Prosadichtung*, where the list of parallels to the *Patrañuelo* is immediately followed by the parallels to *El Conde Lucanor*, and of the latter and not the former our tale is No. 7.

the *entremés* stands a little out of the direct line of descent, and no immediate relation to the established tradition is apparent. Representative of a similar idea is, for example, a magazine story which is no longer traceable:

After some urging a man promises to give an exhibition of tricks he has learned in India. He hangs a row of colored glass beads across the top of the curtain and by causing his audience to fix their eyes on it he hypnotizes them all. They see the sights which he describes to them and some members of the audience come to the stage and make fools of themselves. At a critical moment his fiancée comes into the hall, but since she has not been hypnotized she sees the reality and the ignominies put upon her friends. His later difficulties with her can be imagined.

Quite independent of the bifurcate tradition which has just been traced historically and which is most readily identifiable by the fraudulent picture is a series of stories in which the fraud is practiced by a weaver and not by a painter. This series runs parallel in Europe to the former one and yet does not become confused with it. Its beginnings are Oriental. The line begins with a famous Turkish jestbook, *The Forty Vezirs*. This work is of uncertain date, being usually assigned to the fifteenth century, although it is known to be derived from an earlier Arabic collection. The feeble conclusion of the tale is much improved in later forms. It runs as follows:

A man appears before a king and volunteers to weave a turban which only those born in wedlock can see. The king marvels at the offer and accepts it. For a long time the weaver accepts the allowance from the king. One day he comes before the king with a folded paper, which contains the turban. The king opens the paper, but sees nothing. He cannot bring himself to acknowledge the truth. The weaver calls for a cap on which he may wind the turban and when it is finished all admire it. When the weaver has gone the king calls two viziers aside and confesses he sees nothing. "At length they knew of a surety that the turban had no existence, and that that weaver had thus played a trick for the sake of money."¹

A more effective conclusion is supplied by Juan Manuel in his famous jestbook, *El libro de los enxiemplos de conde Lucanor et de Patronio* (1400-1450).² The cheat offers to weave a marvelous cloth. As in the former group of stories the King acquiesces in the deception lest he

¹ E. J. W. Gibb, *The History of the Forty Vezirs* (London, 1886), pp. 148-49; Behrmauer, *Die 40 Veziere* (Leipzig, 1851), pp. 155-56; cf. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VIII, 130.

² Ed. Knust, pp. 144-48; cf. pp. 365 f. I cannot believe that this story gave rise to the Eulenspiegel tale, but see Knust, p. 365. A new edition of Eichendorff's translation promised by Alfons Hilka has not yet appeared.

be shown to be illegitimate. When he has lied once he finds himself forced to continue, even to the point of making a public appearance in a garment made of this wonderful cloth. The public appearance breaks the chain of falsehood: truth will out.¹ In this Juan Manuel has created what becomes the classical literary form of the tale, and its later history is almost wholly in the field of literature. The merit of Juan Manuel's invention lies in the drastic utilization of the King's credulity to bring about the catastrophe; only in Juan Manuel and in the literary tradition dependent on him is this so cleverly brought about. Noel du Fail's allusion (1547), the first evidence of the story's spread, has in the mention of the cap a curious resemblance to the turban and cap of *The Forty Vezirs*. In *Les contes d'Eutrapel*² he speaks of "le cousturier, qui fit vne cappe au Gentil-homme d'un drap invisible, fors à ceux qui estoient fils de putain." It will be noticed that the story has been reversed, but this is a not improbable accident in oral transmission. With the slightest changes from Juan Manuel's text it was copied, we are told, into Father Carlo Casalicchio's *Utile col dolce* (II, ii, 2), a Jesuit's collection of moral precept and illustrative story which appeared in Naples between the years 1671 and 1678.³ This compilation employs materials from many sources and leans heavily on the *Conde Lucanor*. Hans Christian Andersen as well took the hint for his story, "Kejserens nye klæder," from the Spanish novelist. He found it, says Brix, the latest commentator on Andersen, in a German translation.⁴ Andersen increases the ethical import of the tale, but makes no change in the outlines of the story. Directly dependent on Hans Christian Andersen in turn is Ludwig Fulda's *Der Talisman* (1893), which revived the fairy-drama in Germany after two generations of neglect. The smooth verse, the dramatic effectiveness, and the whimsically satiric tinge of the play made it a stage success which its author was never able to

¹ The incident of the man deluded into going about naked is an incident in the *fabliau* "Les trois dames qui troverent l'anel," but this fact needs no more than passing mention; cf. Bédier, *Les fabliaux*³ (the later edd. are merely mechanical reprints of the 2d ed.), p. 458; Euling, *Germanist. Abh.*, XVIII, 83; Jellinek, *Euph.*, IX (1903), 163; *Prager dt. Stud.*, XIII, 162, n. 3.

² Ed. Courbet (1894), II, 72-73; ed. Assézat (1874), II, 209; ed. Hippeau (1875), II, 90.

³ See Marchesi, *Per la storia della novella ital. nel secolo XVII*, p. 180; Mele, *Giornale stor.*, LXXXII (1923), 71. I have not seen the *Utile col dolce*.

⁴ *H. C. Andersen og hans eventyr* (Copenhagen, 1907), pp. 111-14. The German translation is said to have been that of Ed. von Bülow, entitled "So ist der Lauf der Welt" (1836). I have not seen it.

equal. A last witness to the popularity of the literary tradition which Juan Manuel established is a novel, *The King's New Clothes*, by F. Heller, but its contents have nothing to do with the story. The title's form makes it certain that the author had in mind some English translation of Hans Christian Andersen, for the English translations have often rendered the Danish *kejser* as "king." A tale recently taken down in Ceylon is merely a version of Juan Manuel, probably in the retelling of Andersen, which has been carried to the East. It is as follows:

Seven men agree to cheat a notoriously stupid king. They offer to weave a silk cloth which shall not be visible to the base-born. A messenger who is sent to them while they are at work reports that progress is being made, although he has seen nothing. In this report the king's retinue concurs on various occasions. In due time the king allows himself to be dressed by the cheats and to be escorted about the city naked. Apparently there is no disclosure of the fraud.¹

Perhaps no single head will serve to unite the remaining instances in which this theme of self-imposed deception has found narrative expression. The best parallels are two Indian tales; the others often seem remote indeed. The *Avadanas*, Chinese translations of tales carried northward by Buddhist missionaries in perhaps the sixth century A.D., include the following:

A fool hands some cotton to a spinner and begs him to make it into extremely fine thread. The man does so, but the fool thinks it too coarse. The angry spinner draws his hand through the air and, holding it out, says, "There are extremely fine threads." The fool cannot see them; he is assured that they are too fine to be seen even by the best workmen.

The fool gives the spinner a new order and pays him handsomely.²

A modern Indian folk-tale shows striking resemblances to the European forms of the story:

A girl promises to prove that the king sometimes lies. She invites the king to visit a palace she has built and to see God there. God is visible, she adds, to but one person at a time, and only then if the person is legitimately born. Two ministers enter one after another, see nothing, and declare nevertheless that they have seen God. The king enters and on coming out insists that he too has seen God. The girl convicts him of lying and the king marries her.³

¹ H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* (London, 1914), II, 66-69, No. 89.

² St. Julien, *Les Avadanas* (Paris, 1859), I, 150, No. 39; cf. H. Parker, II, 69, for a summary which I have used in part.

³ Swynnerton, *Indian Nights Entertainment*, p. 60. I follow H. Parker's summary.

Finally, one Singhalese tale has already been disposed of as a European borrowing. The similarities of these Oriental tales do not permit any dogmatic assertions about their connections with Western story. It is conceivable that Oriental tradition has given rise to the more elaborate Western forms, but such a derivation cannot be insisted on. It does seem to be a fact that the mention of weaving is an older constituent of the story than the mention of painting a picture. Consequently a development from a simple story of a fool, such as is preserved in the *Avadanas*, through something like the tale in *The Forty Vezirs* to ultimately the satire on frauds in such a work as *Der Talisman* is plausible enough. Somewhere along the line there branched off a new type in which the picture replaced the cloth, but this forking of the tradition did not take place until after it had reached Europe. Such a historical development is plausible and possible and until more material is available, it may perhaps pass for the actual history of events.

A few remaining tales may contain something related to the themes discussed or may be of wholly independent origin.¹ The following Elizabethan jest is suggested by the proverb, "An honest miller hath a golden thumb,"² and has probably little or nothing to do with our story: "A merchant derided a miller by asserting his disbelief in the adage, but the witty miller replied that no cuckold could see the golden thumb."³ Nor do I see any obvious source or relationship for a didactic tale in the *Fliegende Blätter*:

Among the Havas of Madagascar there lived a lovely maiden, Truth (Treue), whose glances conferred the highest felicity on those on whom they fell. But seeking her favor became irksome in time and the magician Falsehood (Meineid) cast a spell on her. When a new king came to the throne he demanded that Truth be present at the coronation. After searching in vain the minister reported that he had found her, but she was invisible to liars. She was led into the coronation hall, where everyone pretended to see her, and was seated on a throne beside the king. One of the courtiers released a fox

¹ Landau's article, to which reference is made in the first note, gives more material of this sort; these examples are additional and, I venture to think, more nearly related in subject, although I do not insist upon any filiation.

² Chaucer, *Prol.*, 563 (cf. W. Haeckel, p. 71); J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (London, 1678), p. 176; Bohn, *Handbook*, p. 116; Hazlitt, p. 60; Brand-Ellis, III (1849), 387; Wander, *Dt. Sprichwörterlexikon*, III, 760, No. 32; cf. J. Howell, p. 27, "A miller, a man, a thief, and a cuckold."

³ *A C Mery Talys* (ed. Oosterley, *Shakespeare's Jest Book* [1886], p. 22, No. 12; ed. Hazlitt, p. 23, No. 10, and cf. p. 125).

which had been trained to take the best empty chair. It occupied the vacant throne and in a moment of enthusiasm the king reached for Truth's hand and seized the fox's tail instead. General confusion and amusement followed. Truth still lies enchanted.¹

The French dramatist Alexis Piron has an unusual story which is somewhat reminiscent of Juan Manuel in that only the virtuous can see the garment, but here the deceit is a prearranged test of which some are informed in advance and the story is no doubt ultimately a derivative of the medieval theme of the chastity test.² Also prearranged is the trick in a ballad entitled "Der Derwisch und die Rose," which is briefly as follows:

A dervish offers to separate the honest from the dishonest among the king's courtiers. He is introduced by the king as a magician. He holds out his hand and calls attention to the beautiful rose which lies upon it, a rose which only the pure in heart can see. Of course all the courtiers see the rose, and their falsity is displayed.³

Here we may stop. What can be said in the way of tracing the development and history of the tale has already been said. The question why this tale failed so completely to establish itself in the stock of popular tradition remains. The opportunity for the story to find its way into oral tradition was beyond question present. Yet the *Volksgeist* clearly would have none of it. For this refusal one explanation is perhaps as satisfactory as another. Possibly the tale points a moral too obviously, and the moral, that it is possible to fool all of the people some of the time, is too bitter a pill.

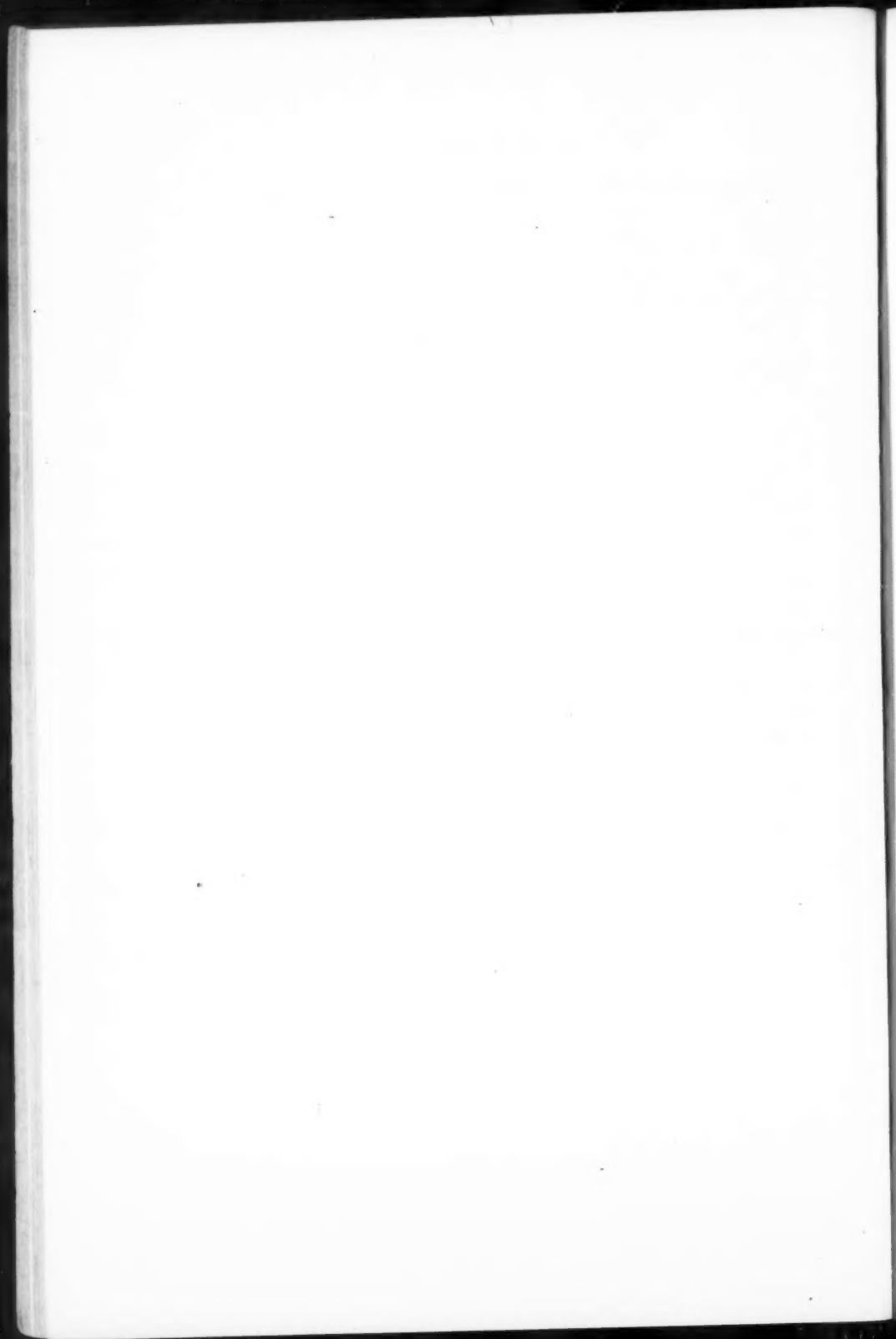
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¹ *Op. cit.* (1892), No. 2432, p. 89.

² *La robe de dissension ou le faux prodige* (1726); see Landau's summary.

³ Bowitsch, *Sindbad* (*Reclams Universalbibliothek*), pp. 35-37.



NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF BOSCÁN'S VERSES

We do not need the statement made in the Prologue of the edition of Boscán's poetry to know that the author had already carefully prepared his manuscript for printing. In the first book he included "the first things that he wrote, which are Spanish *coplas*; in the second, *canciones* and sonnets after the manner of the Italians; and in the third, epistles and *capítulos* and other works, likewise in the Italian fashion." The *coplas* of the first book are preceded by a composition in *versos sueltos*, addressed to the Duchess of Somma, in which the poet complains that his verses are circulating in imperfect copies, and to the same lady is directed the important letter that precedes the second book.

Apparently it has escaped the notice of critics that within several of the metrical groupings Boscán arranged his compositions in approximately a chronological order.¹

Coplas I-VIII describe the course of his passion for Doña Isabel, whom he names but once (II); his sufferings date from the moment that he first saw her (I); now he knows that love is bitter sweet (II); a misunderstanding has parted them, and he wishes he had never seen the lady (III); he regrets the quarrel (IV), but remains disconsolate (V); he determines to cure his malady by absenting himself, as one has an injured finger amputated in order to save the hand (VI); now he feels free, though his soul still lives in his lady's heart (VIII). *Copla* XII is a sort of farewell in which he assumes a share of the blame for what has happened.

There is a striking analogy between the foregoing and the sentiments described in the first twenty-five sonnets. The first four of these serve as an introduction to the sequence, and he explains that he displays his wounds so that others may be deterred from following

¹ Allusions to the text refer to the edition of William I. Knapp, Madrid, 1875. I am chiefly concerned with the verses that appeared in the first edition, Barcelona, 1543. The additions made subsequently, as in the edition of Antwerp, 1544, obviously were not made on the basis of the manuscript prepared for publication by Boscán.

in his footsteps. Doomed to unhappy love from his cradle (V), he foresees no change in his sad fate (VI); alone and dispirited he seeks out deserted places (VII); he wished to love his lady discreetly (*blandamente*), but with this she was not satisfied (VIII); he has lost faith in pleasure (IX); he suffers the pangs of disillusion (X) and prefers death to his present anguish (XI); he regrets his old love, but cannot be happy (XII); as new torments assail him, he shudders at the past and longs for death (XIII-XV), yet he yearns to see the eyes that cause his pain, separated from him by so many plains and mountains (XVI); but doubts still torment him and the fire of love still smolders (XVIII-XXV).

It was apparently to this unhappy love affair that the poet refers in the composition entitled "Conversión de Boscán" which was first published in the edition of Antwerp, 1544.

Conocí la enfermedad
De mi mal conocimiento,
Vi confuso al pensamiento,
Y suelta la voluntad,
Y atado el entendimiento.
Vi mi alma cómo va
Muerta con su misma guerra,
Y vñla enterrada ya,
Puesta debaxo de tierra,
Pues debaxo el cuerpo está.

He realizes that he had been blinded by sensual desire, but with God's help the light of reason has descended upon him, putting to flight the clouds that enveloped him, and leaving dead his fleshly longings.

Menéndez y Pelayo asks, with respect to this composition:

- ¿ Señala esta conversion un momento psicológico en la vida del poeta ?
• Me parece demasiado fría y discursiva para esto; el elemento intelectual ahoga el afectivo; más que al pecador contrito que entra en nueva vida espiritual, vemos al discípulo aprovechado de la ética escolástica que razona sutilmente sobre los efectos de la gracia y el concurso del libre arbitrio.¹

On the contrary, the "Conversión" seems to me one of Boscán's most personal compositions, as reflecting an acute crisis in his life. Nor was his conversion merely a passing twinge of conscience. He was thoroughly ashamed of a love which he believed sinful, and he refers to it with regret and chagrin in a number of later compositions.

¹ *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, XIII, 262.

Coplas XIII-XXV reflect another love affair, which the poet takes care to place upon a higher plane. Once again he runs love's gamut, passing from mere gallantry to desire, jealousy (XV),¹ the conflict between hope and fear, with an occasional cry of triumph. He confesses that this was not his first love (XV), but there is no great merit in his confession since the earlier affair was well known to his friends.

Este mal que agora siento,
Otro tiempo le sentí,
Tan fuerte que el pensamiento
Nunca estuvo tan en sí,
Que estuviese sin tormento.

But a new love has freed him from his pain, only to make his heart the battle ground between fear and desire.

In *Copla XVI* he addresses verses to his lady in sending her some of his poems:

Ahí van las ansias más,
Presentes y las pasadas;
Do más vivas que pintadas
Hallaréis mis fantasías,
De mi mano trasladadas.
Aunque a otras se presenta
Parte aquí de mis querellas,
Al rematar de la cuenta,
La suma de todas ellas
A vuestra merced se asienta.

Si antes de yo seguiros
Lo que hice fué acertado,
De ser yo predestinado
A la gloria de serviros,
Parece que fué salvado.
Y si en otras hermosuras
Anduvo mi sentimiento,
Los males de aquel tormento
No fueron sino figuras
Deste nuevo pensamiento.

Regarding this dedication Menéndez y Pelayo says: "Para (su esposa) y no para una *amiga* vulgar hubiera debido ser escrita esta dedica-

¹ This is the composition called *Las treinta*. Professor Hayward Keniston reprinted an edition of this which was published prior to the *princeps* edition of the *Obras* of Boscaín of 1543 (*Publications of the Hispanic Society of America*, No. 84; New York, 1911).

toria." What is to prevent us from assuming that these verses were in reality addressed to the lady who was later to be the poet's wife?

Francesillo de Zúñiga's witty *Chronicle* affords abundant testimony that Boscán's love affair (or love affairs) and his *coplas de amores* were well known in court circles, and tongues soon began to wag when it was learned that the poet who had so frequently been at death's door because of an earlier love was now consumed by a new passion. No less a person than Don Fadrique Enríquez, Almirante of Castille, with whom Boscán had enjoyed an intimate relationship, sent him one of his characteristically embarrassing queries, asking whether he had forgotten his old pain or whether he had really been in love before (XIX). There is a bit of mockery in the questioner's tone, but Boscán's answer is serious enough (XX). The lover's lack of sense of humor is proverbial. After referring to the other world in which he lives, which presumably is Barcelona, he speaks of his repentance for past sins, which recalls the "Conversión," and then he adds:¹

En los pasados amores
Amaba como otras gentes;
Agora mis accidentes
Son nuevos, y son mejores,
Y siempre serán presentes.
Descubro aquellos milagros
Que amor me tuvo guardados;
Mis pensamientos cansados
Se han tornado dulces de agros,
De muertos resucitados.

Pues también será escusado
De lo que fué preguntarme,
Harto tengo en que ocuparme;
De aquello que es ya pasado
No hay tiempo para acordarme.
Quanto más que estoy corrido
De mis pasados enojos,
Como herege convertido,
Que no osa alzar los ojos,
Si le mientan lo que ha sido.

Pues porque nadie me tienta,
Señor, con viejos pecados,

¹ Knapp's ed., p. 246.

Los días que son pasados
 Si se hace buena cuenta
 Por nada quedan contados.
 Por tales también los cuento,
 No he de ocuparme en nada,
 Quédame tan gran jornada
 Que me da grave tormento
 Qualquier hora malgastada.

We cannot be sure whether the Almirante continued his teasing, but if he refrained, others addressed questions on the same topic in the Almirante's name and to them Boscán replied, at times with vexation, giving casuistical arguments to justify his alleged fickleness. These *coplas* (XXI-XXV) are not found in the first edition, but were included in Knapp's edition from a manuscript copy.

The course of his new love is described also in his Sonnets XXVIII-XC. New hopes fill his heart (XXVIII), but he is timid and distrusts love (XXVIII-XXXII); he cannot understand why he should seek again the cause of his ills (XXXVII); his desires are renewed as the trees and flowers spring into new life (XXXVIII), yet fears still torment him as his love grows. The lady's birth was the union of heaven and earth (XLIV); blessed was the day and hour when she was born (XLV-XLVI); he suffers when he cannot see her (XLVII-XLVIII), and his soul is once more captive (LII). He now directs himself more openly to the lady, picturing to her his distress in a series of sonnets until we reach the exultant cry of the seventy-seventh:

Otro tiempo lloré, y agora canto;
 Canto de amor mis bienes sosegados;
 De amor lloré mis males tan penados,
 Que por necesidad era mi llanto.
 Agora empieza amor un nuevo canto,
 Llevando así sus puntos concertados,
 Que todos, de estar muy acordados,
 Van a dar en un son sabroso y santo.

We may assume that by this time he has been accepted as a lover, or rather as a husband, for in the closing sonnets he insists that the love he now feels is pure, and that he was cured of his moral paralysis by "the chaste love that God sends from heaven." It is evident from the phrase *el curso desta historia* employed in the eighty-sixth sonnet that the poet expected these compositions to be read as an account of his sentimental pilgrimage.

Ten *canciones* in Italian meter were included in the first edition, and the first two of these seem to deal with the earlier love affair. As in the first sonnet sequence, he wishes his story to serve as a warning to lovers, and he is thoroughly ashamed of himself. At first he thought his affection based merely upon friendship, but jealousy tormented him; yet he did not venture to declare himself. His tragic awakening is described in the same vague terms that are employed in the eighth sonnet. For many years his sorrows torture him without respite; he is weary of life, but cannot die. In the second *canción*, he pictures himself as far removed from his lady, where every inch of ground is like a high mountain that separates him from her.

The last eight *canciones* reflect the poet's state of mind as mirrored in Sonnets XXVIII-LXXVI, and include frequent verbal similarities with them. He praises the heaven-born beauty of his lady (III), yet moments of sadness come and he writes (IV):

Habré de morir mal aunque me pese,
O que el alma se aveze
A sostener al cabo de sus años
Nuevo mal, nuevo amor y nuevos daños.

This mood of uncertainty (V) gives way to the despair of the sixth *canción*, in which he calls upon death in moving verses that recall the Comendador Escrivá's famous "Ven muerte tan escondida." Doubts still assail him (VII-VIII), and in the ninth *canción* he refers to his earlier passion:

En otro tiempo, pues, pasé mi vida
De tal suerte, que en fin yo la pasaba
Concertándome en mí con mis tormentos.
Ya entonces mi dolor me fatigaba;
Mas al cabo a mi mal daba salida
Un blando discurrir de pensamientos,
Que un no sé qué traían de contentos.
Y quando me tomaba una sospecha,
Con el fuego de amor se iba gastando,
Poco a poco dexando
El alma de su error tan satisfecha,
Que desto me acudía
Una esperanza allí de nuevo hecha,
Y un pensar que otra vez mi fantasía
Su vano sospechar entendería.

In the tenth *canción* he writes that once before love held him in bondage, from which by God's grace he had been freed:

Resucitado, pues, de aquella muerte
Que mató vivamente mis sentidos
Los del alma y también los corporales;
Volviendo atrás, mis años vi perdidos,
Y vi que fui caído en baxa suerte,
Igual con los más baxos animales.

Since he had been pardoned for his past faults, he calls upon God to cure these new wounds.

If it has been shown that the *coplas*, sonnets, and *canciones* may be divided into two groups with respect to the subject matter, it may not be amiss to attempt to fit in these conclusions with the few facts that are known regarding Boscán's life. Apparently before he had his memorable conversation with Navagiero in the fall of 1526, he was in love with a lady named Doña Isabel and had addressed to her all or a part of his *Coplas* I-VIII and XII.¹ If we may assume that he meant Barcelona when he wrote in his letter to the Duchess of Somma, describing his interview with Navagiero, "Partíme pocos días después para mi casa," his life at court terminated in 1526. According to this, the first twenty-five sonnets and the first two *canciones* constitute his first experiments in Italian measures and were written at Barcelona.

Apparently, the poet sought to forget the lady, and finally he turned to religion which cured him of his sensual desire, as he describes in the "Conversión" and elsewhere. Later, new interests stir in his heart, and the course of this new, pure love is recorded in his *Coplas* XIII-XXV, Sonnets XXVIII-LXXVI, and *Canciones* III-X, in which are mingled his ardent protestations of love and his fears of refusal. Sonnets LXVII-XC forecast his marriage to Doña Girón de Rebolledo.

We do not know when this marriage took place, but since Garcilaso does not mention Boscán's wife in the epistle addressed to him from Avignon in October, 1534, while he alludes to her in his second elegy, composed in the latter part of the year 1535, it is likely that their wedding was celebrated some time between these dates. There

¹ It is obvious that *Coplas* IX-XI do not belong in this group since they had already been published in the edition of the *Cancionero General* that appeared in 1514 (see Hayward Keniston, *Las Treinta of Juan Boscán*, p. 2).

is a tradition, dating from Herrera, that one of the ladies celebrated by Boscán in his "Octava Rima" was his wife, and the poet describes his idyllic—if somewhat colorless—life with her in his epistle to Hurtado de Mendoza, which was probably written in the early forties. The *privilegio* of the edition published in 1543, one year after Boscán's death, forms the last chapter of the story.¹

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¹ After having completed this study, I find that E. Díez Canedo in the introduction to his edition (Garcilaso y Boscán, *Obras poéticas*, Madrid, 1917, pp. 15–16) alludes briefly to the autobiographical features of Boscán's verses. It is a pleasure to see my conjecture confirmed by this well-known critic.

CLASSIC MYTHS IN ENGLISH VERSE (1557-89)

The purpose of this article is to discuss a heterogeneous mass of pieces on mythological themes which achieve a certain unity through their more or less medieval coloring. The terminus 1589 is taken because Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla* marks the real beginning of the Italian manner—though by no means the end of medievalism. Since the interest of the poems lies mainly in their sources comment is limited to matters of fact.¹

MYTHOLOGICAL POEMS

The Elizabethans did not distinguish between translation and adaptation, so that in tracing the origins of the modern mythological poem one has to include pieces which vary from translation to loose paraphrase. The first metrical rendering of a passage of Ovid seems to be a scrap of twelve lines in Tottel's *Miscellany*, a translation of the opening lines of the first epistle of the *Heroides* (Penelope to Ulysses).²

An interest out of proportion to literary merit attaches to *The fable of Ovid treting of Narcissus, translated out of Latin into Englysh mytre, with a Morall ther unto* (1560).³ The narrative, which follows

¹ The classification adopted in the following pages is loose, but inevitably so. Translations of whole books, such as Golding's *Metamorphoses*, are not mentioned except incidentally. Classical elements in long poems, such as *Albion's England*, are reserved for future discussion.

² Tottel, *Miscellany* (ed. Arber), p. 229. In prose, Ovid—or something like him—had appeared in *The flores of Ovide de arte amandi* (1513), and in Caxton *Metamorphoses* (1480), which may not have been printed, and of which only a fragment (x-xv), lately reprinted, is extant. One may mention the first complete version of any of the epistles of the *Heroides*, a close translation of the letter of Helen to Paris, by Sir Thomas Chaloner (d. 1565). It apparently was not published, but appears in *Nugae Antiquae* (London, 1804), II, 372-89. Turberville's complete *Heroides* was issued in 1567. The Stationers' Register under 1566-67 records three entries of separate epistles (*Arber Transcript*, I, 328, 329, 335), but, as one of the notes added to Warton suggests, "the probability is, that the epistles were entered sectionally thus merely to guard against forestallers" (Warton, *History of English Poetry*, IV [1871], 300).

³ The poem is reprinted in W. E. Buckley's edition of the poems of Thomas Edwards (Roxburghe Club, 1882), pp. 133 ff., and is described in Corser, *Collectanea*, Part IX, pp. 101 ff.; Brydges, *Restituta*, III, 265 ff., and *Censura Literaria*, I, 257 ff.; E. Witz, *Die englischen Ovidübersetzungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 27-29. The author is unknown. The piece ends with "Finis. Quod T.H." and was assigned, without much reason, to Thomas Howell by Ritson and others (e.g., *Cambridge History* IV, 438). The initials may refer to the printer, Thomas Hacket (Warton, *op. cit.*, IV [1871], 298).

In connection with this and following moralized tales it may be noted this decade [MODERN PHILOLOGY, August, 1927]

Ovid closely, occupies six pages; the moral, thirty-two. Much of the moral seems to be more or less original sermonizing on subjects traditionally connected with Narcissus, such as the folly of pride and self-love and beauty. But the preacher names some of his sources. Nearly forty lines elaborate Boccaccio's interpretation of Echo—the voice of earthly delights which lures men to ruin.¹ We have a Platonic discourse on body and soul taken from "Ficius" (Ficino).² There is a reference to one "that walles hath to name," that is, the moralized Ovid of Berchorius which went under the name of Thomas Waleys.³ About twenty lines are based on an interpretation of the story by one "whome Italye dyd brede"; the reference may be to Nicolo Agostini, whose prose moralization of the story corresponds more nearly to the English lines than any that I have seen.⁴

Thomas Peend's *Pleasant Fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis* *With a morall in English Verse* (1565) contains about three hundred and forty lines, and the narrative, which is a very loose paraphrase of Ovid, is shorter than the moral.⁵ The myth is said to represent pure youth exposed to the temptations of the world, which is one of the interpretations in the *Ovide Moralisé*, so that Peend is thoroughly in the medieval tradition.

Underdowne's *Excellent Historie of Theseus and Ariadne* (1566) proclaims a strongly didactic (and misogynist) purpose in title, Preface, and text. The extracts available show that Ovid was treated with freedom.⁶

witnessed an epidemic of moralized ballads (see below, p. 47). The allegorical theory of poetry remained popular of course throughout the Elizabethan age, and was held by critics as intelligent as Lodge and Harington—or at least professed. It is discussed in many books, such as Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*; G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Introd.); G. A. Thompson, *Elizabethan Criticism of Poetry* (Chicago dissertation, 1912); C. B. Cooper, *Some Elizabethan Opinions of the Poetry and Character of Ovid* (Chicago dissertation, 1914); D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (Columbia dissertation, 1922).

¹ Buckley, p. 150; Boccaccio, *Genealogias* (Venice, 1511), Book VII, chap. lix, fol. 60.

² Buckley, pp. 166 ff. The lines seem to be based on a passage which refers to the story of Narcissus in Ficino, *Commentarium in Convivium* (*Omnia Divini Platonis Opera tralatatione Marsilii Ficini*, Basle, 1532), p. 406.

³ Buckley, pp. 168 ff. Buckley prints the moralization of "Waleys" on p. 175. Cf. *Ovide Moralisé* (ed. C. de Boer; Amsterdam, 1915 ff.) III, 1464 ff., 1847 ff.

⁴ Buckley, p. 169; N. Agostini, *Tutti gli Libri de Ouidio Metamorphosos tradotti dal litteral in verso vulgar con le sue Allegorie in prosa*, Venice, 1522 (no page numbers).

⁵ I have used the copy in the Bodleian. Brydges prints excerpts in *British Bibliographer*, II, 344 ff. See Witz, pp. 30-36.

⁶ *Heroïdes* x; *Metam.* viii. 172-82. See Brydges, *British Bibliographer*, II, 534 ff.; Collier, *Bibliographical Account*, II, 458-59.

John Partridge's *Notable hystorie of two famous Princes of the worlde, Astianax and Polixena* (1566) fulfils the intention expressed in the Preface of showing the horrors of war. The story, of about two hundred and twenty long lines, begins with the capture of Troy and the Greeks' preparations to return home. The spirit of Achilles appears from hell and demands the blood of Polyxena and the sacrifice is carried out. Partridge speaks of having "translated" the tale, but I do not know of any foreign source. He seems to have made a redaction of the parts of Heywood's version of Seneca's *Troas* which deal with Astyanax and Polyxena, using among other things the apparition and speech of Achilles which Heywood added to the original.¹

In 1569 was published *The tragicall and lamentable Historie Of Two Faythfull Mates: Ceyx Kynge of Thrachine, and Alcione his wife*, by W. Hubbard.² The author handled Ovid freely, for instance, in abridging the description of the storm and omitting the mythological machinery in the account of Alcione's dream. Lines and phrases are constantly borrowed from Golding, whose success was doubtless Hubbard's inspiration.

The *Gorgious Gallery of gallant Inuentions* (1578) contains a poem of nearly five hundred lines, "The History of *Pyramus* and *Thisbie* truely translated."³ I have not found any original from which it could be said, in our sense of the words, to be "truely translated," but the material, most of which is un-Ovidian, goes back ultimately to a French poem of the twelfth century. A product of the age which revamped classical stories in the spirit of the courts of love, this was preserved, like Chrétien's *Philomena*, in the *Ovide Moralisé*.⁴ A brief sketch of some salient resemblances will make clear the medieval character of the English piece.

¹ Heywood's *Translations from Seneca* (ed. H. de Vocht; Louvain, 1913), esp. pp. 22 ff., 39 ff., 80 ff. Partridge's account of Polyxena may owe some details to Ovid (*Metam.* xiii. 449 ff.), or Lydgate, *Troy-Book* (ed. Bergen), Book IV, ll. 6635 ff., 6684 ff. I have used the copy of Partridge in the Bodleian. The piece is described in Collier, *op. cit.*, II, 121 ff.

² Reprinted in Collier, *Illustrations of Old English Literature*, and briefly described in Collier, *Bib. Acct.*, I, 382-83. The source is *Metam.* xi. 346 ff.; in Golding's translation (ed. W. H. D. Rouse, 1904), p. 228, ll. 471 ff.

³ *Gorgious Gallery* (ed. H. E. Rollins), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926, pp. 103 ff.

⁴ Edited by C. de Boer, in *Verhandelingen de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XII, No. 3*, pp. 39 ff.; also, by the same editor, in *Les Classiques français du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1921). Cf. Barbazan and Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, IV (1808), 326 ff., and E. Faral, *Romania*, XLI, 33 ff.

Both the Old French and the English poem have much to say about the childhood of the pair, who were touched by love at the age of seven, and in both the mention of their age is followed by reflections on the power of love. In the French a servant tells the mother of Thisbe that the children are in love; in the English, "to *Thisbes* Mothers cares, some spark thereof were blowen." In the former, Pyramus, after uttering a long complaint, goes to the temple of Venus to pray, though his prayer is not given; in the latter, Pyramus does not make a complaint, but he does go to the temple of Venus, and his prayer is set down. In both poems Thisbe finds a hole in the wall and hangs the pendant of her girdle through it; Pyramus, returning from the temple, is about to enter his chamber when he sees the pendant and stops to talk. Apart from such incidents, which are not in Ovid, the two versions do not usually show a close resemblance in the substance of the complaints and dialogue.¹

Of foreign versions there are many, and many that I have not seen.² Hart, who presumably examined them, throws no light on our poem, and had not noticed the relation between it and the Old French version. There may, of course, be some foreign rendering which was the immediate source of our piece, but I have not seen one. However, considering Elizabethan standards of "true translation," it is quite possible that the English poem is a loose paraphrase of a modern French version of the Old French piece. Such a version, in prose, is in *Les XV. liures de la Metamorphose D'ouide (Poëte tresselegāt) contenant L'olympes des Histoires poëtiques traduits de Latin en Francoys, le tout figuré de nouvelles figures & hystoires, nouvellement imprimé à Paris par Denys Ianot libraire & imprimeur, 1539.*³ This version contains all the un-Ovidian matter, such as the play and the age of the children,

¹ Certain of these un-Ovidian items, though not the visit to the temple, had already appeared in English, in Stephen Scrope's translation of Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre d'Othea a Hector*, made about 1444-50 (ed. G. F. Warner; Roxburghe Club, 1904); in another version of the same book, called the *C. Hystories of Troie*, printed and probably translated by Robert Wyer, 1536-45. In both the story occupies chap. xxxviii. It is also in Brian Anslay's translation of Christine's *Livre de la Cité des Dames*, the *Boke of the Cyte of Ladies* (1521), in chap. lvi, which Flügel printed in *Anglia*, XII, 14 ff. See M. Laigle, *Le Livre des Trois Vertus de Christine de Pisan* (Paris, 1912), p. 36, n. 5, and P. G. C. Campbell, "Christine de Pisan en Angleterre," *Rev. de Litt. comparée* (Oct.-Dec., 1925), pp. 666, 668. A missing link in the chain of English versions belongs to 1562 (see Rollins' note in *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 203).

² G. Hart, *Die Pyramus-&-Thisbe Sage in Holland, England, Italien u. Spanien* (Passau, 1891).

³ I have used the copy in the British Museum. The story occurs on pp. 54-58.

the pendant of the girdle, and the visit of Pyramus to the temple of Venus. The chief difference is in the speeches, which, while akin in general content, are often not close enough to warrant the word "translation."¹

At any rate, whether one is absolutely certain of the immediate source or not, the medieval pedigree of this poem of 1578 is amply evident, and it is fully confirmed when one reads the piece.

In 1587 appeared *The most famous and Tragicall Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia*, by Matthew Grove. The poem occupies forty-four pages in Grosart's reprint, and is of the hopelessly jog-trot kind. The original myth is amplified with speeches, moralizing, and descriptions.

In 1589 Peele published together his *Farewell to Norris and Drake* and his *Tale of Troy*, the latter probably written between 1572 and 1581. The most interesting thing about it is the combination of incongruous elements, classic myth, and medieval chivalry—the natural result of the author's depending mainly upon Caxton's *Recuyell*, while he took more or less from the *Heroides*, *Metamorphoses*, and *Aeneid*, and perhaps minor sources.² Such a combination is thoroughly medieval, and thoroughly Elizabethan.

For the sake of completeness several lost or doubtful works may be mentioned: N. Whyte's version of Valerius Flaccus (licensed, 1565-66); a version of Musaeus which Abraham Fleming said he wrote about 1577; a translation of Coluthus, accredited to Marlowe.³

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS

A *lytell treatise cleped La conusaunce damours* was printed by Pynson, and cannot therefore have been later than 1530.⁴ It contains thirty pages of rhyme-royal. Seeking inspiration for a poem in honor of "dames and pusels" the writer calls on a young woman and her friends, with whom he talks of love and lovers. The young woman

¹ The same material, in metrical form, appears in *Les Histoires des Poetes: Comprises en Grand Olympe, en ensuyuant les Metamorphoses d'Ovide: et autres additions et Histoires Poetiques propres pour la poésie, par Christofle Deffrans, Ecuyer ... A Niort, Par Thomas Portan, 1596*, pp. 57 ff.

² See Professor Tatlock's compendious list of Peele's borrowings in his "Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature," *PMLA*, XXX, 680 ff.

³ H. R. Palmer, *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics*, pp. 109, 74, 39.

⁴ I have used the copy in the British Museum. The poem is described by Corser, *Collectanea*, Part IV, 438 ff., and by Collier, *Bib. Acc.*, II, 439-40. It is said by Collier to be from the French—as the title might suggest—but I have not found any original.

tells, in thirty stanzas, the story of Pyramus and Thisbe; the verse is rather better than much later stuff. The tale is a fairly close paraphrase, direct or indirect, of Ovid, with a few trifling changes; the chief departure, a thoroughly medieval one, is the expansion of Ovid's *audacem faciebat amor* into four stanzas on the power of love.¹ At the conclusion of the story there is a discussion of love, with weighty contributions from "Reason" and "Thought-and-hevyneesse," which is perhaps nearer to the medieval courts of love than to Italianate conversations of Renaissance courtesy books and *novelle*.

A few pseudo-Chaucerian pieces may be noticed as medieval survivals. The "Letter of Dydo to Eneas" (Pynson's *Chaucer*, 1526) is in style like Lydgate, but while Lydgate follows Boccaccio this seems to be a free and abridged paraphrase of Dido's epistle in Ovid.² The "heap of rubbish" in Stow's *Chaucer* (1561) includes a piece telling "how Mercurie with Pallas, Venus and Minarua, appered to Paris," which suggests a shaky knowledge of classical divinities.³ "The Nine Ladies Worthy" is notable mainly for its aureate style and a preponderance of Amazons among the heroines.⁴

Grimald's two narrative poems contributed to Tottel's *Miscellany*, "The Death of Zoroas" and "Marcus Tullius Ciceroes Death," are important mainly because they "were possibly the first published poems in blank verse in the English language."⁵ As treatments of classical themes they require no special comment, except that, in this welter of medievalism, they show a classic sobriety worthy of a humanist; in manner they are, of course, not in the Ovidian tradition.

Turbervile anticipated Keats in writing of war between the gods

¹ *Metam.* iv. 55 ff. The story had often been treated in English already, e.g., Chaucer, *LGW* (II); Gower, *CA*, III, 1331-1494; Lydgate, *Reason and Sensualyte* (*EETS*, 1901), ll. 3960-4001; Scrope's translation of Christine's *Epistre d'Othea* (ed. G. F. Warner; Roxburghe Club, 1904), chap. xxxviii; a romance, printed by Flügel in *Anglia*, XII, 16 ff.; Brian Anslay, *Boke of the Cyte of Ladies*, Part II, chap. lvi. The *Conusauance* does not appear to owe anything to any of these versions.

Dr. G. M. Vogt has called my attention to the romance of *Amoryus and Cleopes*, by John Metham (1448-49), which is summarized in Furnivall, *Political, Religious and Love Poems* (*EETS*, 1866), pp. 301-8. This romance makes use of the plot of Pyramus and Thisbe, though with some wondrous changes, such as the revival of the dead lovers by the hand of God (see L. A. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England* [Oxford, 1924], pp. 191-92 n.).

² Lydgate, *Fall of Princes* (ed. Bergen), I, 253 ff.; Boccaccio, *De claribus mulieribus*, chap. xi; E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer*, p. 436.

³ Stow, fol. cccxliij; Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. xlii.

⁴ Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

⁵ L. R. Merrill, *Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald* (Yale University Press, 1925), pp. 369 ff. Details regarding the sources (the *Alexandreis* and Beza, *Mors Ciceronis*) and the texts are given in Merrill, *op. cit.*, pp. 444 ff.

and Titans, and the manner of treatment is sufficiently indicated by the title, "A Myrrour of the fall of Pride," a text supported with other traditional examples of pride, Narcissus and the rest.¹ To obviate the necessity of returning to Turberville one may mention here the story of Aristotimus contained in the later *Tragical Tales*.² It is a pedestrian paraphrase of Bandello (iii. 5), with an envoy on the evils of tyranny. As Professor Erskine says, Turberville's "smattering of classical motives found no reaction in his imagination, and left his verse as arid as before"—a judgment which applies to the rest of the material discussed here.

Violently anti-Romanist and heavily didactic is Richard Robinson's *Rewarde of Wickednesse* (1574), inspired probably by the *Mirror for Magistrates*, which tells of a visit, in a dream, to Hades, to see Helen, Pope Alexander VI, Tarquin, Medea, Tantalus, and many others, who tell of their evil deeds.³ The subtitles are texts for sermons—"Helen tormented for her treason to her husband," "Young Tarquin rewarded for his wickednesse," "the torment of Tyranny in King Midas," and so on.⁴

George Whetstone's *Rocke of Regard* (1576) includes three pieces on classical subjects. "In Cressids Complaint, the subtilties of a courtisan discovered may forwarne youth from the companie of enticing dames"⁵—a link in the chain of devolution which leads from Chaucer's gentlewoman to Shakespeare's "daughter of the game."

A purely conventional piece is the "Pitious complaint of Medea," and a half-burlesque is "The discommodities of forst marriages, by the example of Venus and Vulcan."⁶

Four classic anecdotes are utilized by Edwards in the *Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* (1576)—stories of Damocles and others—with a heavily moral purpose.⁷

¹ *Epitaphes, Epigrams, etc.* (1567), Collier's reprint, pp. 152 ff. There was an earlier edition, published probably "in or after 1565" (Rollins, "New Facts about George Turberville," *Mod. Phil.*, XV, 134).

² *Tragical Tales* (reprint, Edinburgh, 1837), pp. 203 ff. The extant copies of the book were printed in 1587, but it first appeared between 1574 and 1575 (Rollins, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 ff.).

³ Collier, *Bibliographical Account*, II, 271 ff.

⁴ These titles are cited in *Censura Literaria*, VI, 42.

⁵ Collier's reprint, pp. 36 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 108. Peend's poem, mentioned above, contains a version of the tale of Venus and Vulcan similar in tone (*Brit. Bib.*, II, 348); similar also is one of the "explications" of the *Ovide Moralisé* (ed. De Boer, Books III-VI [1920], p. 7).

⁷ Collier's reprint, pp. 78 ff. On the sources, Valerius Maximus, etc., see notes in *Paradyse* (ed. H. E. Rollins). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (forthcoming).

The *Gorgious Gallery of gallant Inuentions* (1578) has a piece of thirty-eight lines sternly entitled "The reward of Whoredome by the fall of Helen."¹ It is a speech by Helen, delivered from what the moralist assumes to be her present dwelling-place, "Limbo Lake, where dismall feendes do lye. . . ." Helen avows all her misdeeds in lurid language and wishes that she had "modest liued."

In 1579 appeared a compilation justly called *The Forrest of Fancy*, which contains a little bit of everything, love poems, sermons, Italian tales.² There are a few short classical stories about Eteocles and Polynices, "the great patience and clemency of King Antigonus," "the tragedy of Meliager," the last of which is not a rival of Swinburne's version.³ The authorship of the work, which is an Elizabethan equivalent of an American Sunday newspaper, is unknown; the colophon is initialed "H.C."

A piece of thirty pages in *A Poore Knight his Pallace of priuate pleasures* makes use of the dream-allegory to describe a battle between the forces of Diana and Cupid and a trial before the gods.⁴ It is more suggestive of Lydgate (or Googe's *Cupido Conquered*) than of "a student in Cambridge" in 1579. The same collection has a poem of almost two hundred lines which tells in broadside manner, though with remarkable historical detail, "The lyfe and death of Maister T. Cicero."

Thomas Howell treated the story of Troilus twice, though the second piece is only a recasting of the first. Both are heavily didactic. They show a marked debt to Chaucer and Henryson.⁵

¹ Collier's reprint, pp. 102-3; reprint by Professor Rollins (Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 81.

² I read, or at least used, the copy in the British Museum. A list of titles is given in Brydges, *Restituta*, III, 456 ff. Collier (*Bib. Acc.*, I, 291) says that there were two editions in 1579, the second being larger than the first. The Italian prose tales are discussed by Koepfel, *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXX, 44-46.

³ A note in Warton, *History* (ed. 1871), IV, 274, suggests that the tale of Eteocles and his brother was inspired by the publication of Studley's translation of Seneca's *Œdipus* or Gascoigne's *Iocasta*.

⁴ In *Three Collections of English Poetry of the latter part of the Sixteenth Century* (ed. Sir H. Ellis: London, 1845).

⁵ *Howell's Poems* (ed. Grosart), pp. 121-22; *Howell's Devises* (Clarendon Press, 1906), pp. 18-19. See Rollins, "Troilus-Cressida Story," *PMLA*, XXXII, 403-5.

Howell has a didactic piece on Croesus (Grosart, p. 124) and two pieces on "Iulia Pompeis Wyfe" (Grosart, p. 138; *Howell's Devises*, p. 26). He probably got the tale of Julia from Valerius Maximus (iv. 6. 4), whose account is more detailed than Plutarch's (*Pompey* 53; North, *Tudor Translations*, IV, 263); it is also in Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus*, chap. lxxix.

Longer, but not better, than these is a poem of broadside character, "The lamentable historie of Sephalus with the Unfortunat end of Procris. To the tune of Appelles."¹ The story omits all of the Ovidian myth except the catastrophe, and makes use, apparently, of the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe to describe the youth and enamorment of the lovers.

Humphrey Gifford's *Posie of Gilloflowers* (1580) contains a poem, "A straunge historie," on the story of Sinorix and Camma.² The tale is told in broadside manner; certain details and verbal parallels show that it is based on the version in Hoby's *Courtier*.³

In T. Proctor's *Triumph of Trueth* (ca. 1585) classical stories are treated in the usual didactic way; Caesar's glory was "blemisht with desire of Lucre." "The Gretians Conquest" tells in half-a-dozen pages the story of the Trojan War. The notion of Helen's willing elopement may have been taken from Dictys or from the *Heroides*; the account of the capture of Troy follows Vergil.

In Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* (1586), mostly translated from Alciati and others, dozens of myths are briefly told, and often allegorized in the traditional way. Still further removed from the classic spirit are such things as Roger Rawlyns' *Cassius of Parma his Orpheus* (1587), which slights Eurydice in order to show what hard work a musician must perform if he wants to succeed. Equally edifying is Rawlyns' "Nestor his Antilochus: Poynting out the trueth and necessities of Arte in studie," in the same volume.

AMATORY POEMS

The influence of the formal study of rhetoric and of the rhetorical tradition in literature is very pronounced in Elizabethan writing, good and bad.⁴ The confusion of poetry with the art of persuading was aggravated, in love poetry, by the example of the popular *Heroides*, in which Ovid is, above all things, a clever rhetorician. One is not surprised, then, to find Gascoigne advising the poet-lover to seek "occa-

¹ Grosart, pp. 146 ff.; cf. the brief piece in *Tottel*, pp. 213-14.

² Grosart's ed., *Fuller Worthies*, I, 122-26. Professor Baskervill remarks (*Mod. Phil.*, XXIII, 123) that it "is very probably one of two ballads entered in 1569-70." See H. E. Rollins, *Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries* ("Studies in Philology," Vol. XXI, Nos. 2284 and 2452).

³ *Tudor Translations*, pp. 236-37.

⁴ D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922.

sion to pleade by the example of some historie, or discover my disquiet in shadowes *per Allegoriam*."¹ And for versifiers in need of matter no example lay readier to hand than the familiar figures of classical mythology.

A number of specimens of this sort of verse appear in Tottel's *Miscellany*. For instance, "The tale of Pigmalion, with conclusion upon the beautye of his loue," in thirty-two lines, tells how Pygmalion, after thinking of various un-Ovidian ways of gaining immortality by his art, at last made a statue and fell in love with it.² At the end the poet applies the tale to his own unhappy state.

There is no need of cataloguing even the titles of the multitudinous pieces of this sort which appear everywhere in the miscellanies and other lyric verse of the time. He who runs may or may not read.³ But two or three significant items may be mentioned.

William Fulwood's *Enimie of Idlenesse* (1568), a practical manual of letter-writing, offers as a model

A secrete Louer writes his will,
By story of Pigmaliions ill.

George Gascoigne uses the common formula in "Davids salutations to Berzabe," which tells briefly the story of the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius.⁴ More important is the "Complaynt of Philomene."⁵ The poet goes out to listen to the nightingale and falls asleep. In his dream a stately nymph approaches and tells the story of Philomela. It follows Ovid closely, with a few changes, such as the omission of the banquet, the evil omens, and the nocturnal thoughts of Tereus.⁶ There is a great deal of padding in the way of morality. The piece concludes with an application of the sermon to the poet. The ordinary amatory poem of this kind is short, but here is a narrative of twenty-three pages, with which the narrator is associated in the character of a lover. It represents, however crudely, the fusion of the Ovidian narrative proper and the amatory poem.

¹ G. Smith, *Elisabethan Critical Essays*, I, 48.

² Tottel, *Miscellany* (ed. Arber), p. 131.

³ E.g., see Tottel, pp. 192, 213, 265; Turbervile, *Epitaphes, etc.* (Collier's reprint), pp. 28, 59, 168, 223, 249—and others, including the sonneteers, *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam*.

⁴ *Works* (ed. Cunliffe), I, 463.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 177 ff.

⁶ *Metam.* vi. 424 ff.

BALLADS

The multitude of ballads which gave the customers of Autolyceus their knowledge, often curious, of classic myths, are so much alike that discussion would be fruitless, but a word may be said of moralizing. Professor Rollins' *Index* lists at least sixteen moralized ballads within the period 1557-89, and of these fourteen fall between 1563 and 1571. While moralizing did not cease for many generations, one finds a similar impulse at work in more pretentious versions of Ovid written during the same decade—the *Narcissus* of 1560, and the works of Peend, Golding, Underdowne, and others.¹

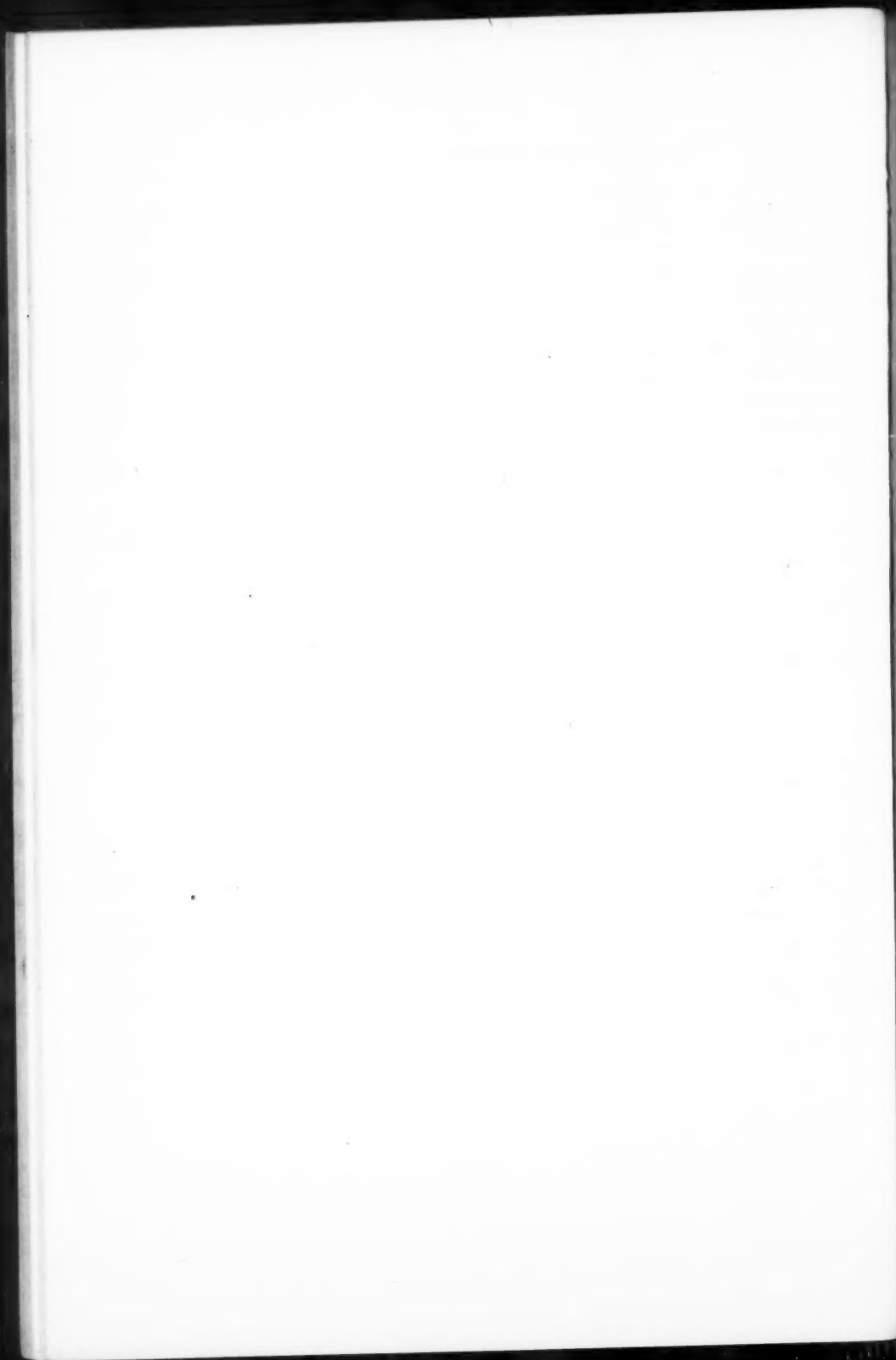
CONCLUSION

The mass of material catalogued in the preceding pages, impressive in bulk at least, leaves no doubt of the extreme popularity of classical themes. They furnish inspiration to the literary aspirant, the puritan preacher, the sonneteer, and the ballad-monger. In the genesis of the mythological poem much the most important factor was of course the practice of translating episodes from Ovid. Another factor becomes more important after 1589, namely, the use of mythology in amatory verse. The mythological narrative was elaborated until it crowded out the personal erotic element—as it almost does in Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla*. In *Venus and Adonis* the lover has dropped out entirely, but the subject remains erotic, and the manner and diction are saturated with Petrarchianism. The mass of pieces before 1589, untouched by the elaborate and sensuous Italian renderings of Ovid, are stolidly medieval in their didacticism, their allegorizing, and their indiscriminate use of ancient, medieval, and modern sources.

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¹ The following numbers in Professor Rollins' *Index* refer to ballads on classical subjects. I give them in chronological order: 2826, 1100, 2839, 1583, 90, 91, 988, 1119, 1124, 1370, 2022, 2426, 2768, 1720, 9, 168, 1009, 1053, 2253, 2840, 505, 1779, 1947, 2284, 2452, 2783, 1771, 1973, 595, 779, 1464.



LYDGATE AND COLUCCIO SALUTATI

Twice, in the first three books of his *Fall of Princes*, does Lydgate lament the fate of Lucretia. On the second occasion, Book III, lines 960-1148, he says that he is following "Bochas," by which he means his direct source for most of the poem, Laurent de Premierfait's French prose translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus*. He remarks, as he sets about rendering Lucretia's farewell scene, that he has already in his work "rehearsed here and there a word of a full doleful declamation" on the subject, made by "Pierius"; and in Book II, lines 974-1337, this declamation is to be found, appended to a mention of the Tarquins. At that earlier point Lydgate says that the younger Tarquin was the oppressor of Lucretia, but that because Chaucer has admirably told her piteous story, he himself will not be so presumptuous as to attempt a retelling. Immediately thereupon, however, he begins it, excusing himself on the grounds that "it were pity her story for to hide," and that his lord had bidden him incorporate a declamation by "Collucyus" on the subject.

Lydgate's "lord," the patron of the *Fall of Princes* translation, is Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; "Collucius," the same man as the later-mentioned "Pierius," is Linus Colucius Pierius, papal secretary 1368, chancellor of Florence 1375, and friend of Petrarch, known to us as Coluccio Salutati. And the "declamation" still exists—in how many manuscripts I cannot say; the text here discussed is that preserved in MS Royal 8 E xii of the British Museum, used by me in photostat reproduction.¹

¹ A. von Martin, in his edition of Coluccio's tractate on *The Tyrant* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1913), lists on p. 18 a number of manuscripts of this declamation; one text, that of a Greifswald University codex, was published by H. Mueller in *Blätter f. das bayer. Gymnasialschulwesen*, XIV (1878), 371, with the assertion that there had been no previous print, and that the author, although probably not of the classical period, was unidentified. In the same publication, XVII (1881), 116, A. Eussner cited Mehus' *Vita Ambrogii Traversarii* in proof of Coluccio's authorship; and *ibid.*, XVI, 9-12, also XXIV, 74, Eussner has comments on the Latin and parallels from Livy. With Mueller's statement as to the lack of earlier prints one should note the appearance of the declamation among the *Epistles of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini* (Pope Plus II), printed in 1496 and subsequently; in the 1571 edition of Plus' *Opera* the text is found on pp. 959-60, as Epistle cccxi. This Royal manuscript, of the fifteenth century, clearly attributes the work to Coluccio; and from Lydgate's statement it is also clear that the manuscript owned by Gloucester about 1430 was definite in its ascription. Coluccio died in 1406.

Of Gloucester's possession of Coluccio-volumes there is no doubt; his first (1439) donation of manuscripts to Oxford included "*Epistolae Collusii*," an entry perhaps referring to the collection of letters printed in our own time as the *Epistolario*; and Lydgate's statement here very probably means that the duke put his own copy of the declamation into the hands of his protégé. There is no likelihood that this Royal manuscript was owned by Humphrey; it is described in the 1921 *Catalogue* as once the property of Grey, Bishop of Ely, who died 1478, and is a fifteenth-century vellum volume of homilies and rhetorical tracts and models, in Latin. The second and third of its six items are Coluccio's two-part "*De seculo et religione*," and "*Declamationes duae*," also by him; of these the "*Lucretia*" is followed by a rhetorical exercise "*coram decemviris*," on the subject of a law (apparently) of libel. It was the declamation "*Lucretia*" which Lydgate used.

Coluccio planned this rhetorical exercise in two speeches, the first by the husband of Lucretia, dissuading her from suicide, insisting on her untarnished fame, and urging her to live both for the sake of her family and for the satisfaction of revenge. She replies that life is worthless without honor, and that all men will say it was dread of death which made her yield to Tarquin, should she now shrink from death. The Latin has strong points which Lydgate omits, perhaps from monkish prudery; but of its many compact and forceful sentences he retains a goodly number, certainly more than "here and there a word." He has padded, as he usually does; and it is noticeable how often one of his stanzas opens with a close rendering of the Latin, thinned out to seven lines by generalities and repetition. Coluccio is neither overlong nor verbally overlabored; he uses the rhetorical question with effect; and the speech of Lucretia, in particular, has dramatic quality.

The indebtedness of Lydgate to the Latin will appear from the series of extracts which I append. I make these selections brief, since the subject is only opened here; a detailed comparison with the full Latin text, and with perhaps a note on Shakespeare, would be of interest. Such a comparison would have to deal with the numerous text-distortions made by this scribe—distortions which I leave undiscussed at present. I am much indebted to Professor G. L. Hendrickson, of Yale University, for help with the Latin.

The English lines I cite from Dr. Henry Bergen's edition of the *Fall of Princes*, Volume I; they are in each case followed by the Latin, from the Royal manuscript above mentioned, its spelling regularized and modern punctuation introduced.

My dere Lucrece, tempeste the nat at all,
We knowe thy menyng and thy clene entent,
Thy vertu prevyd in especial, 1060
Which yevith to vs a ful pleyn argument,
Vn to thavoutour thow gaff nevyr assent
And for a more singuleer evydence,
Cryest euere to punyssh his greet offence.

Noli te afflictare, Lucretia: satis maximum argumentum dedisti te adultero non consensisse, tibi que vim illatam, quae poenam eius expectas.

Thyng that was secre, in covert thow nat hydest,
But rygerously thavoutour doost accuse. 1068

. . . . quam celare poteras, accuses. . . .

For bothe in opyn and also in secre
The fame hath flouryd of thy chaast name 1077

quae non solum in hominum oculis, sed in secretis domus penetralibus et frugalitatem et pudicitiam coluisti.

My trewe Lucrece, hastow nat in mynde,
Nat yoore agoon, in verray sekirnesse,
How thavoutour and I the did fynde 1088
Amyd thy women in vertuous besynesse
Occupyed,—a tokne of stedfastnesse,
Therby concludyng of trouthe and of resoun,
Modir of vertue is occupyoun.

I fond the thanne, as I haue do ful offte,
Among thy maydenys besily sittyng,
To make hem werke vpon wollis soffte,
In ther werkyng hem womanly cherysshynge. 1096
On vicious lust ful smal was thy thynkyng;

An recolis, mea Lucretia, cum paucis ante diebus una cum ipso, loco ipso adulterii, prima face adhuc advenimus, tu inter servas lanificio intenta reperta es, improvisa incauta nec virum nec hospitem tunc expectans?

On thyn iniurie we shall auengid be 1114
 nos iniuriam ulciscemur.

Considred first the dedli heuynesse
 Which thou suffredist bi gret aduersite, 1116
 Whan thauoutour thi beute dede oppresse,
 And reioishyng bi a fals gladnesse,
 Maugre thi will, as a theeff be nyht,
 The encoumbred off veray force & myht 1120

Quae maesta violentos compressus improbi iuuenis pertulisti, dum mala ille
 gaudia ex invita capiebat. . . .

But yiff thou woldist leue al thi moornyng
 And restreyne thyn inportable wo,
 Thou sholdist seen so egal a punshyng
 Vpon thi moste froward mortal fo,
 To warne alle othre, thei shal no more do so. 1125

Si ipsum odisti, si sibi [read "illi"] ex animo supplicium optas, fac vivas, fac
 quod te videat in suis poenis exultare! fac quod, cum se viderit invisum et
 infamem periturum, te cuius corpus attigit videat integro famae lumine
 superesse! [This passage is inserted to show Lydgate's alteration of the sense
 of the Latin, doubtless deliberate.]

Lat be, Lucrece, lat been al thi dool,
 Cese thi compleynt & thi wo restreyne. 1143
 Sholde I fro the lyue alone al sool,
 And thi deth perpetueli compleyne?
 To putte thi fader in inportable peyne,
 Off our weelfare be nat so rekles,
 To deie and leue our childe moodirles.

Noli, Lucretia, viduare coniugem, orbare patrem, et filiis matrem auferre.

Off prudence eek thou ouhtest for to see
 And aduertise onli off resoun, 1150
 Thouh off force thi bodi corrupt be,
 Thi soule inward and thyn entencioun
 Fraunchised been from al corrupcioun.
 Offens is noon, conside in thyn entent,
 But will and herte yiue thereto ful consent.

Pollutum est corpus, sed integer est animus. Nulla culpa sine consensu contrahitur.

Thou were nakid in thi bed liggyng, 1156
 Alone, onwar, slepyng and void off myht,
 Suspeciounles al off his comyng,
 That tyme namli, because that it was nyht.
 A feerful woman, and he an hardi knyht, 1160
 Al be it so onknyhtli was his deede,
 With nakid swerd tassaile thi womanheede.

Quis nescit te non potuisse resistere, nudam dormientem incautam et nil tale verentem, armato iuueni ad homicidium vel ad adulterium praeparato.

He myhte neuer ha maistri off thi thouht. 1166
 The bodi yolde, the herte yald hym nouht.

. . . . rigidum pectus tuum mollire non potuit. [And see the sentence above: "Pollutum, etc."]

Where myhtistou ha grettere price or laude, 1170
 Al riht considred, trouthe and equite:
 First countirpeised his force & sleiht fraude,
 Thanne to perseuere in femynnyte
 With thouht onchaungid, & in fragilite
 Off womanheed to haue an herte stable,—
 What thyng in the myht be mor comendable? 1176

It is weel knowe thou were off herte ay oon,
 To all fals lustis contraire in gouernaunce,
 Mor lik an ymage korue out off a ston,
 Than lik a woman flessfli off plesaunce.

Tu quid? muliebris fragilitatis eius [?] iniuriam pertulisti, sed mentem intra concubitus violentiam pudicam conseruasti. Si gloriam quaeris, nihil huic gloriae potes adicere, quae iuueni amanti et auido libidinem suam explenti te non mulierem carneam se statuam marmoream praeuisti.

Thi fadir Brutus hath the weel excusid, 1184
 Misilff also, thi blood & thi kynreede.

Vir, pater Brutus, et alii coniuncti, qui te culpa absoluunt, ne te occidas vetant.

Folk wil nat deeme a persone innocent, 1198
 Which wilfulli, whan he is nat coupable,
 Yildith hymself to deth be iugement,
 And neuer afforn was off no gilt partable.

His owne doom, vpon hymself vengable,
 Causeth the peeple, thowh ther report be nouht,
 To deeme a thyng that neuer was doon nor thouht. 1204

Cur te occidendo iudicium ipsorum damnas? Si te occidis, culpam tibi, qua
 cares quamque fugis, inuris. Numquam putabitur innocens qui se nocentem
 supplicio affecit. AMEN.

[*Lucretia now speaks:*]

Lat be, husbonde, lat be, my fader deer, 1215
 Spekith no mor to me off this mateer,
 List men dempte, in hyndryng off my name,
 I dradde deth mor than fals diffame.

Nolite me, pater sanctissime, tu quam luce quondam mihi carior coniunx,
 morte prohibere. Nisi me occidero, fides erit me potius infamiam vitare
 voluisse quam mortem. Quis vnquam credet quod ille me seruicidio terruerit,
 meque magis consociandi serui ignominiam suspiciosam timuisse quam
 mortem? Nisi moriendi fortitudine audaciaque probauero, restabit me miser-
 am turpissima labes infamiae, Lucretiam potius adulteram voluisse vivere
 quam pudicam mori. Nonne videtis quod me non vitae vultis sed infamiae
 reseruare? [Lydgate spends 1219-32 in mild general comment on life.]

Doth your deuer to halwe & make stable 1233
 The chast chaumbres off wifli gouernaunce.

Sanctite matrimoniales toros: facite quod ultio tanti flagitii securos reddat
 aliarum somnos.

Yiff ye be founde in such cas negligent 1240
 Luxure onbridled shal renne abrod at large. 1243

Si negligentius hoc egeritis, vagabitur effrenis libido.

Or what woman stonde in sekirnesse,
 Off Lucrece afforced the clennesses? 1246

Etenim quae mulier erit tuta, violata Lucretia?

O deere husbonde, what ioie sholde it be 1247
 To thyn estat, in ony maner place,
 Lich as thi wiff [for] to cherisshe me,
 Or in thyn armys me goodli to enbrace,
 The gilt horrible considred and trespase
 Be Tarquyn doon—alas and welaway!
 Whiche in my persone may neuer be wasshe away.

Tu autem, carissime coniunx, quomodo poteris in meos ire complexus, qui te non uxorem tenere tuam sed scortum Tarquinii recorderis?

And fader myn, how sholdestou me calle, 1254
Afftir this day, thyn owne douhter deere,
Which am, alas, refus off women alle,
That to thi plesaunce was whilom most enteere,
Withynne thi hous whan I dede lere,
Bi cleer example off manyfold doctryne,
Al that partened to vertuous disciplyne? 1260

Et tu, pater sanctissime, quomodo me filiam tuam appellabis, quae pudicitiam, quam sub optima disciplina tua ab infantia didici, tam infelicitè amisi tamque iniuriòse corrupe?

Myn owne childre, I dar hem nat beholde, 1263
Because the wombe in which that thei ha leyn
Diffouled is and pollut in certeyn,
Which was toforn in chastite conserued.
Chastisith thauoutour, as he hath disserued!

Me miseram, audebo ne natos quidem intueri meos quorum ventrem adulter oppresserit. [Coluccio continues: Quid si semen infaustum visceribus inhaesit meis? An expectabo donec ex adultero mater fiam?]

Lenger to lyue I ha no fantasie. 1269

Non est ulterius mea vita iucunda [read "ducenda"?].

Al be I was ageyn my will oppressid,
Ther was a maner constreyned lust in deede, 1283

An putatis nullam violati corporis voluptatem?

O fader myn, spare and ha pite! 1289
And deere husbonde, rewe on myn offence!
Goddiss & goddassis callid off chastite,
To my trespase graunteth an indulgence.

Fatebor occultatum nefas: parce parens, parceque marite, et vos dii castarum mentium indulgete.

For yiff I sholde make a delay 1296
To perce my brest bi sharpnesse off a knyff,
Men wolde deeme and sey fro day to day,
To make my slaundre mor open & mor ryff,
How that I was mor tendir off my lyff
Than off my worshep, which were to gret a shame,—

In this mateer no witnesse is so good,
 To putte away al fals suspecioun,
 As with a knyff to sheede myn herte blood: 1305

Credant omnes me infamiam timuisse, non mortem; quod testibus probare non possum, sanguine meo ratum efficiam.

Go forth, my soule, peur & immortal, 1310
 Cheeff witnesse off myn innocence,
 Tofor tho iuges which be infernal:
 First Mynos, kyng, to deeme my conscience,
 With Radamanthus to yeuen a sentence
 Lik my desert, that it may be seene,
 In wifli trouthe how that I was cleene.

.i. anima incorrupta et immaculata testis innocentiae meae apud Minois et Radamanthis tribunal.

Thou ert heli body, which thoruh thi fairnesse 1317
 Were to auoutri ful gret occasioun,
 Off thi blood sheede out the rednesse,
 And be thi sides late it raile down;
 Stere and excite the peeple off this toun
 To doon ther deuer, withynne a litil while,
 For loue off Tarquyn, alle kynges to exile.

Tuque terrestre corpus, quod etiam specie tua tibi causam et occasionem adulterii peperisti, effunde animam, effunde cruorem hunc omnem, ut hic incipiat superbi regis et infaustae regiae prolis excidium.

In the Latin, Lucretia then takes leave of her family and friends, repeating that her death should be a lesson to Roman women. Lydgate emphasizes that there must be no delay in the vengeance on Tarquin.

I have made no note as to the relation between Coluccio and the text of Livy. It may be remarked, however, that in the 1554 print of the *Fall of Princes* the name Collucyus, Book II, line 1009, was changed to Titus Livius, while the Pierius of Book III, line 983, remained. This removal of the keyword led Koepfel, using the 1554 text for his monograph on the *Fall of Princes*, to conjecture a kinship between *Pierius* and *Pierides*. Had the reading Collucius lain before him, the way would have been open.

Many comments are suggested by this passage. It is noticeable that Lydgate's change of purpose, his resolve to narrate the story of Lucretia despite his own inferiority to Chaucer, begin a chapter. It must have been just there that Humphrey interfered, after reading what had already been translated; and it must have been he who permitted the recently written refusal of the task to stand—perhaps because of its language about Chaucer? Not only was it Humphrey who put Coluccio's Latin into Lydgate's hands, but it was very probably he who gave Lydgate the hint about Dante, used in Book IV, lines 134-40, of the *Fall of Princes*; it was from his library that Lydgate drew information about Petrarch; it was under his personal supervision that the carefully built rhythm of the Palladius translation was framed. And if it was also he who told Lydgate that Chaucer's *Troilus* was translated from *Lumbard tunge* and not from Latin, then Humphrey was no mean critic of letters. He—or Lydgate—has failed to tell us how that Lombard verse came to be called *Trophee*; but it is at least as probable that the monk drew this fact from his Italianate patron as that it descended to him from the "common knowledge" of Chaucer's contemporaries. Of that "common knowledge" we have as yet no proof.

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CHAUCER'S PARDONER OF ROUNCIVAL

With him ther rood a gentil Pardonere
Of Rouncival, his freend and his compeer.

The hospital of St. Mary of Rouncival near Charing Cross to which Chaucer alludes was established about 1231 as a dependency of the hospital of St. Mary of Roncesvalles in Navarre and was endowed by William Marshall, Earl of Penbroke.¹ The hospital of St. Mary of Roncesvalles in Navarre was established before 1006 and was a wealthy and important foundation. It was originally a military order consisting of prior, knights, and brethren whose duties were to defend the Pass of Roncesvalles, lodge and feed pilgrims, tend the sick, and bury the dead. In 1137 the order appears to have accepted a modified form of the Augustinian rule and to have become a congregation of canons regular. It had property in nearly every country of Europe and was in a flourishing condition through the fourteenth century, though it declined later.

The hospital of Rouncival in London appears to have been at the height of its prosperity in the second quarter of the fourteenth century but to have suffered severely from the Black Death. In the second half of the fourteenth century it suffered from the French wars (which interfered with communication between London and Navarre), the Great Schism (1378 on), and the movement to suppress alien religious houses. In 1379 the chapel and lands of St. Mary Rouncival were seized into the king's hand in accordance with a statute for the forfeiture of the lands of schismatic aliens, and on May 8, 1382, Nicholas Slake, a king's clerk, was appointed warden of the hospital by the king.² In 1383, however, the king's court after investigation restored

¹ The information contained in this paragraph and the one that follows is derived partly from James Galloway's *Story of St. Mary Roncevall* (originally published in the *Charing Cross Hospital Gazette*, July, 1907, and separately circulated without imprint) and partly from W. Webster's review (*Academy*, August 23, 1879) of D. Hilario Sarasa's *Reseña Historica de la Real Casa de Nuestra Señora de Roncesvalles* (Pamplona, 1878); the substance of the review is incorporated in Galloway's study. Other obligations to Galloway will be indicated later in this paper. I wish to express here my thanks to Miss K. S. Martin, of Farnham, Surrey, for sending me a copy of this somewhat inaccessible monograph.

² *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* (hereafter cited as *CPR*), 1381-85, p. 117.
[*MODERN PHILOLOGIST*, August, 1927]

the hospital to the Prior of Roncevalles. From 1390 there are records of the appointment by the king of various persons as wardens of the hospital of Rouncival, but the connection between the hospital and the mother-house at Roncevalles was not entirely broken and seems to have continued in some form even as late as 1432. The hospital of Rouncival was finally suppressed with the other religious houses in 1544, and its property was granted in 1550 to Sir Thomas Cawarden.

The nature of the Pardoner's connection with Rouncival, though not indicated by Chaucer, may be inferred from information which the records furnish as to the means by which the London hospitals of the fourteenth century obtained their support.¹ The *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* contains numerous records like the following:

1346 Oct. 15. Protection with clause *rogamus* for the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Mary, Rouncevalle, and their attorneys, collecting alms.²

The complete text of the document is as follows:

Pro Magistro et fratribus Hospitalis beate Marie de Rouncevalle.

Rex Archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus prioribus archidiaconis et eorum officialibus ac aliis personis ecclesiasticis necnon omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos, etc. salutem. Sciatis quod suscepimus in proteccionem et defensionem nostram dilectos nobis magistrum et fratres Hospitalis beate Marie de Rouncevalle ac eorum attornatos seu nuncios eorundem attornatorum substitutos vel substitutum necnon homines terras res redditus et omnes possessiones suas. Et ideo *vos prelatos et alias personas ecclesiasticas rogamus quatinus cum idem magister seu quivis fratrum suorum aut eorum attornati vel nuncii eorundem attornatorum substituti vel substitutus ad loca vestra pro elemosinis colligendis accesserint uel accesserit, eos vel eum benigne in ecclesiis vestris recipiatis et elemosinas querere permittatis et eisdem fratribus seu eorum alicui aut eorum attornatis vel eorundem attornatorum substitutis vel substituto in locis ubi³ litteras vestras convocatorias liberaliter concedere velitis*, vobisque ballivis et fidelibus nostris precipimus et mandamus quod predictos magistrum et fratres vel eorundem attornatorum substitutos vel substitutum necnon homines

¹ For the facts cited in the following pages I am under considerable obligation to Miss M. Reddan and Rev. J. C. Cox's treatment of the various London hospitals in the *Victoria History of London*, Vol. I, *passim*. To indicate my obligations in detail would be tedious and also misleading; for though a great number of the facts referred to are of my own collection, I have merely supplemented the facts in the *Victoria County History* with others of the same kind derived from the same sources.

² *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 196.

³ A word or words are apparently omitted here, in the opinion of my copyist.

terras res redditus et omnes possessiones suas manuteneatis protegitis et defendatis, Non inferentes eis vel inferri permittentes iniuriam molestiam dampnum impedimentum aliquod seu gravamen, et si quid eis per quoscumque clericos seu laicos forisfactum fuerit id eis sine dilacione faciatis emendari. In cuius etc. Teste Custode predicto apud Wyndesore xv. die Octobris.¹

Three similar grants of protection were made in 1320 to the leper hospital of Southwark.² Numerous grants of the kind were made between 1305 and 1346 to the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon;³ the patent of July 8, 1323, uses the words "benigne in ecclesiis vestris recipientes ipsos in eisdem ecclesiis populum admonere et elemosinas libenter querere permittatis" as a variant of the corresponding part of the patent quoted above.⁴ The grant to the hospital of St. Giles, May 1, 1351, is in somewhat different form:

Protection, for two years, for the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Giles without the bar of the Old Temple, London, who have not sufficient to live on unless assisted by the faithful elsewhere, and for their proctors or substitutes collecting alms: directed to bailiffs and others.⁵

A somewhat similar grant made by the Pope in 1397 in favor of the hospital of St. Anthony is as follows:

6 Id. July To archbishops and bishops in England and Ireland. Mandate, on complaint of John Macclesfield, administrator of the Augustinian house of St. Anthony, London, to receive the brethren and envoys of the said house sent on quest for the poor and infirm of its hospital, to give them within fifteen days after their demand letters to the people, and to forbid their subjects, as the pope hereby forbids the bishops themselves, to extort anything from them when they come to beg, or to hinder them in any way.⁶

¹ Patent Roll 218, 20 Edward III, Part III, m. 21. The italics are mine, and I have added a few commas for clearness. Another grant of protection (referred to by Galloway, p. 25) is dated August 25, 1321:

"Protection with clause *rogamus* for the messengers sent to England to collect alms by William Roberti, canon of the hospital of St. Mary, Rouncevall, and proctor general in England of the prior and convent of that place; in consideration of the benefits constantly given in that hospital to poor pilgrims visiting the shrine of Santiago. By K."—*CPR*, 1321-24, p. 15.

² *CPR*, 1317-21, pp. 438, 492, 514.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 260, 344; 1327-30, p. 5. See also p. 64, nn. 2, 4, below.

⁴ Patent Roll 159, 17 Edward II, Part I, m. 21.

⁵ *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 103; see also *ibid.*, 1345-48, pp. 224, 370.

⁶ *Papal Letters*, V, 18.

Three grants of the king's protection to London hospitals mention the fact that these hospitals had letters of indulgence from the Pope. The earliest of these concerns Rouncival:

1283 Sept. 13. Protection, during pleasure, with clause *rogamus*, for brother Lupus, priest, envoy, and preceptor of the houses in England and Ireland of the prior and convent of the hospital of St. Mary, Roncevaux, coming with indulgences from the pope for the remission of sins.¹

The original text is as follows:

Pro Preceptore domorum Prioris et Conuentus Hospitalis beate Marie Roscidevallis.

Frater Lupus presbiter et nuncius ac preceptor domorum Prioris et Conuentus Hospitalis beate Marie Roscidevallis in Anglia et Hibernia ab ipsis Priore et Conventu constitutus habet litteras Regis de proteccionem quamdiu Regis placuerit duraturas cum hac clausa:—Cumque dominus Papa in remissione peccatorum virorum vos exhortetur et commoneat ut fratribus Hospitalis predicti cum ipsi fratres vel eorum nuncii ad vos venerint de bonis vestris elemosinas petitori aliquid eis erogetis, vos omnes et singulos affectuose requiramus et rogamus quatinus predictum Lupum et alios nuncios et procuratores predictorum Prioris et Conuentus cum ad vos venirent indulgencias et privilegia sua vobis ostensuri et elemosinas vestras petitori recommendatos habentes, ipsos indulgencias et privilegia sua coram vobis legentes benigne audire et eis intuitu caritatis ad eorum sustentacionem et ad onus hospitalitatis in domo sua supportandum de bonis temporalibus vobis a Deo collatis aliquas elemosinas erogare velitis liberaliter et benigne ut ab omni bonorum largitore remuneracionem exinde condignam et a nobis grates reportare possitis. Teste Rege apud Maclesfeld xiiij. die Septembris.²

The abstract of the second, granted to the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon on May 5, 1305, reads:

Protection, with clause *rogamus*, for three years, for Master Edmund de London, the master, and the brethren of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acre, London, who have indulgences from various popes to be received once a year in churches to collect alms.³

The third, dated February 12, 1327, grants protection for one year to the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, London, "collecting alms in churches once a year by virtue of an indulgence from the pope."⁴

¹ CPR, 1281-92, p. 75. This reference I owe to Galloway.

² Patent Roll 102, m. 11, 11 Edward I.

³ CPR, 1301-7, p. 340.

⁴ Ibid., 1327-30, p. 18. For a similar grant to St. Bartholomew's see p. 66, n. 1 below.

A grant made by John of Gaunt, November 26, 1372, states that certain persons of the hospital of Our Lady of "Runcyvale" are going into various parts of England to ask alms, requests the archbishops and bishops to grant to these persons *pardon et indulgence* and *lettres de mandement* to their obedientiaries, and also requests other ecclesiastics to receive them favorably and permit them to state their needs in the churches and elsewhere. The essential portion of the document is as follows:

Savoir vous faceons que, come noz chers en Dieu frere Laurence de Pampiloun, Henry de Preston, et sire Johan Staunden, chapelain, freres et procureurs del hospital Nostre Dame de Runcyvale soient pur eux transporter vers diverses parties de la roialme d'Engleterre pur quere et impetier almoignes et autres bienfaites de misericorde de ceux que les vourront doner en regard de charitee; et a cause que y nous semble bien meritoire de faire as ditz freres et procureurs es choses susditz grace favour ease et desport: si supplions et prions cherement a vous ercevesques et evesques que a quelle heure que eux ou nul de eux viegne ou viegnent envers vous pur pardon de vous avoir a touz leur bienfesours vous leur veulliez tant en extacion de faire overes de charitee come pur salute et merite des almes de leur ditz bienfesours gracieusement leur ottoier pardon et indulgence, et sur ce de granter lettres de mandement a voz obedienters selonc ce que affaire en celle partie. Et a vous abbes priours et autres gentz de sainte esglise prions especialement que a eux et chescun de eux vous veulliez a leur venues envers vous faire ease favour et desport et favorablement les soeffrer exposer et pronuncier deinz voz esglises et ailleurs leur busoignes et choses en dehue manere.¹

The document concludes with a request to constables and other officers to show favor to these persons and to protect them from injury. It was to hold good for two years and on November 18, 1374, was renewed with a practically identical grant of like duration.²

More definite information as to indulgences granted for the benefit of London hospitals in the fourteenth century is contained in the *Papal Registers*. The earliest that I have found is the following:

1355 9 Kal. Feb. Relaxation of a year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents visiting and giving alms at the parish church of St. Giles, without the Bar of the Old Temple at London, of the hospital of the lepers of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem

¹ *John of Gaunt's Register* (ed. Armitage-Smith), I, 45 f. For this reference I am indebted to Professor J. M. Manly.

² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

which consists of a warden, three brothers, two sisters, two secular priests, and fourteen poor lepers, and has suffered by fire and by the pestilence. To hold good for ten years.¹

The second, dated 1357, is to the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark:

Whereas the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, founded by the saint in Southwerk, to which flock numbers of poor and sick, so that the master, brethren, and sisters, of the rule of St. Augustine, cannot support their charges without alms, they pray for an indulgence of two years and two *quadrage* to those who visit the hospital at Christmas, Easter, and the feasts of the Blessed Virgin and SS. Peter and Paul, and on Good Friday, and who lend a helping hand to the hospital.

*Granted. Avignon, 4 Kal. Jan.*²

The following was granted in 1363 to the hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem:

The brethren of the hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem without Bishopsgate, London. Whereas their rents are only 33s. and they have lost many benefactors by the pestilence, and their buildings and trees have suffered by hurricanes, they pray for relaxation of enjoined penance for ten years and ten *quadrage* to benefactors who visit the hospital at Christmas, Epiphany, and the five feasts of the Blessed Virgin, and on their vigils, and lend a helping hand for ten years to the restoration of the house.

*Granted for one year and a quadrage Avignon 4 Non. June.*³

More or less similar grants of relaxation of penance to those who at certain times visited the hospitals and gave alms for their support were made in 1365 to the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon,⁴ in 1391 to the hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate,⁵ in 1392 to the hospital of St. Anthony,⁶ and in 1393 to the hospital of St. James, Westminster.⁷

From the facts cited in the preceding paragraphs it seems clear that a hospital would have been recognized by a contemporary reader of Chaucer's description as an entirely appropriate institution for the Pardoner to be connected with. But why Rouncival? Rouncival was only one of thirteen hospitals that existed in London in Chaucer's day,

¹ *Papal Letters*, III, 573 f.

² *Papal Petitions*, I, 304.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 423 f.

⁴ *Papal Letters*, IV, 48.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

⁶ See *Victoria History of London*, I, 581 f.

⁷ *Papal Letters*, IV, 466.

and was certainly not the most important of the thirteen. In fact, as we run through the accounts of these hospitals in the *Victoria History of London* we get the impression that Rouncival was one of the less important hospitals in the latter quarter of the fourteenth century.

But although it was not conspicuous as a religious and benevolent institution, the hospital of Rouncival had at this time a certain notoriety as the result of occurrences referred to in the following patent of July 18, 1382:

Writ of aid for Ralph Archer, yeoman of the chamber and proctor of the king's clerk Nicholas Slake, master of the hospital of St. Mary, Rouncesvalles, appointed to arrest and bring before the king and council all persons whom he shall prove to have collected alms in the realm as proctors of the hospital and converted the same to their own use.¹

The original patent is as follows:

De diversis procuratoribus arestandis. Rouncevall.

Rex universis et singulis vicecomitibus maioribus ballivis ministris et fidelibus suis ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod quia intelleximus quod *quamplures advocantes se alternatos et procuratores Hospitalis beate Marie de Rouncevall in regno nostro Anglie*, unde dilectus clericus noster Nicholaus Slake est Magister, *absque aliqua auctoritate ipsius Magistri ad elemosinas a Deo devotis pro sustentacione eiusdem Hospitalis et degencium in eodem petendas et colligendas ad diversas partes regni nostri Anglie se divertunt et huiusmodi elemosinas petunt colligunt et recipiunt et in usus suos proprios absque aliqua responsione prefato Magistro aut procuratoribus suis in hac parte inde faciendis convertunt in nostri contemptum et fidelium nostrorum huiusmodi elemosinas dicto Hospitali ut predicatur conferencium deceptionem et depauperacionem manifestam. Nos, eorum protervie in hac parte obviare volentes, assignavimus dilectum valletum Camere nostre Radulfum Archer procuratorem ipsius Magistri in hac parte ad omnes illos qui huiusmodi elemosinas ut predictum est nomine dicti Hospitalis pecierint et receperint et eas ad opus dicti Hospitalis convertere noluerint et indies recusant dummodo idem Radulfus id sufficienter probare poterit arestandos et coram nobis et consilio nostro ad respondendum ibidem super premissis et aliis que sibi tunc exponentur ex parte nostra in premissis et ad faciendum ulterius et recipiendum quod sibi tunc ex parte nostra iniungetur. Et ideo vobis et cuilibet vestrum iniungimus et mandamus quod eidem Radulfo in premissis sitis consulentes et auxiantes prout decet.*

¹ CPR, 1381-85, p. 195. This document is referred to by Galloway but I had procured a copy of the original before I read his monograph. It is not mentioned in the *Victoria History of London*.

In cuius etc. per unum annum duraturum. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xviii. die Julii.

per breve de privato sigillo.¹

It seems highly probable that a contemporary reader would have interpreted Chaucer's reference to Rouncival in this context as an allusion to the recent incident of 1382. And I find it very difficult to believe that this interpretation would not have been foreseen by Chaucer himself.

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¹ Patent Roll 313, 6 Richard II, Part I, m. 313d. I have supplied italics to indicate the more essential parts of the document and have added a few marks of punctuation. Similar references to imposition practiced in the name of the hospitals of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon, St. Bartholomew, St. Mary of Behlehem, and St. Anthony occur in 1323, 1324, 1347, and 1390:

"Mandate for two years to all sheriffs and bailiffs, on complaint of the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of the Danes (*Dacorum*) in the city of London, to arrest persons pretending to be proctors of that hospital collecting alms, who have no letters testimonial of the hospital."—*CPR*, 1321–24, p. 234; see also *ibid.*, pp. 25, 358; 1324–27, p. 48; 1327–30, p. 364; 1330–34, pp. 9, 64; 1345–48, p. 206.

"Protection with clause *rogamus*, for three years, for the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, Smethefeld, London, collecting alms once a year in churches pursuant to an indult of the pope. The king's bailiffs are to arrest any persons falsely representing themselves to be their proctors and collecting alms in their name."—*CPR*, 1324–27, p. 25; see also *ibid.*, 1327–30, p. 18.

"Protection with clause *rogamus*, for two years, for the master and brethren of the house and order of the brethren of the knighthood of St. Mary of Bethlehem, in the city of London, and their attorneys, collecting alms in the churches. The sheriffs, bailiffs and others are to arrest any unauthorised persons collecting alms in their name."—*CPR*, 1345–48, p. 357; see also *ibid.*, 1334–38, p. 344; 1348–50, p. 148.

"Protection with clause *rogamus* for one year for the deputies and proctors of John Maclesfeld, master-general of the house or hospital of St. Anthony in England, Ireland and Wales to collect alms for the said house; with power to arrest false proctors, until further order or until they make amends."—*CPR*, 1388–92, p. 214.

THE INDEBTEDNESS OF SIR JOHN DAVIES' *NOSCE TEIPSUM* TO PHILIP MORNAY'S *TRUNESSE OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION*

In his article "The Sources Used by Davies in *Nosce teipsum*," which appeared some time ago in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*,¹ Mr. Louis I. Bredvold refutes with great cogency Grosart's statement that in the philosophical poem *Nosce teipsum* Sir John Davies gave evidence of "deep and original thought."² By means of numerous parallel passages Mr. Bredvold determines that Davies made liberal use of *The second part of the French Academy*, written by Peter de la Primaudaye and translated into English in 1594. He admits also that Davies may have seen another French treatise, *A worke concerning the trunesse of the Christian religion against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Jewes, Mahumetists, and other Infidels*, by Philip Mornay, first published at Antwerp in 1581.³ The similarities between *Nosce teipsum* and *The second part of the French Academy* do in many cases preclude the possibility of doubt, and I do not question that Davies used Primaudaye. The point I wish to raise here has to do with the second treatise. Mr. Bredvold finds only four parallels to Mornay in *Nosce teipsum* and is not sure of those. Before quoting them he makes the non-committal remark that Davies had "apparently also read Mornay's *Trunesse of the Christian religion*," and hastens to suggest that in two of the four cases the similarities can be accounted for by supposing an indebtedness of Primaudaye to Mornay. In other words, Mr. Bredvold is positive that Davies used Primaudaye's treatise, but is not at all sure about Mornay's. I hope at this time to banish his doubt by showing that Davies' dependence on Mornay is much greater than he has supposed.

Mornay's work is a huge volume of over six hundred pages, but it

¹ XXXVIII (1923), 745-69.

² *The complete poems of Sir John Davies* (London, 1876), Memorial Introduction, p. lix.

³ Sir Philip Sidney began the translation of Mornay's work into English, but died before completing it, and the task was finished by Arthur Golding, in 1587.

[MODERN PHILOLOGY, August, 1927]

is with the fourteenth chapter, "That the Soule of man is immortall, or dieth not," that we are here principally concerned. With two exceptions all my quotations are from this chapter,¹ and they are listed in order of their occurrence in *Nosce teipsum*.² Both Mornay and Davies begin their discussions of the soul with a definition:

The soul a substance, and a spirit is
which God himself doth in the body make,
which makes the man; and every man from this
the nature of a man, and name, doth take [Davies, p. 12].

There needeth no long scanning whether the soule be a substance or a qualitie. For seeing that qualities have no being but in another thing than themselves; the life which causeth another thing to be, cannot be a qualitie. Forasmuch then as the soule maketh a man to be a man, who otherwise should be but a Carkasse or Carrion: doubtless . . . we must needs grant that the soule is a forming substance and a substantial forme, yea and a most excellent substance infinitely passing the outward man [Mornay, p. 216].

THE ABILITY OF THE SOUL TO LEAVE THE BODY
AND GO ELSEWHERE

When she without a *Pegasus* doth fly,
swifter than lightning's fire, from east to west,
about the center, and above the sky;
she travels then, although the body rest.

When all her works she formeth first within,
proportions them, and sees their perfect end,
ere she in act doth any part begin
What instrument doth then the body lend? [Davies, p. 14.]

What would he say then, if he could afterwards see how the same man being now quickened, attaineth in one moment from the one side of the earth to the other without shifting of place, descending down to the center of the world, and mounting up above on the outtermost circle of it both at once, present in a thousand places at one instant, embracing the whole without touching it, creeping upon the earth, and yet containing it, beholding the heavens from beneath, and being above the Heaven of Heavens both at once. Should he not be compelled to say, that in this silly body there dwells a greater thing than the body, greater than the earth, yea greater than the whole world together? [Mornay, p. 210.]

She's sent as soon to *China* as to *Spain*,
and thence returns as soon as she is sent;
she measures with one time, and with one pain,
an ell of silk, and heaven's wide spreading tent [Davies, p. 25].

¹ I have used the English translation of 1617.

² *Prolusion, or select pieces of ancient poetry* (London, 1760), Part III.

Bid thy Soule or Minde go to Constantinople and forthwith to turn back againe to Rome, and straightway to be at Paris or Lyons: Bid it passe through America, or to go about Africa, and it dispatcheth all these journeys in a trice [Mornay, p. 217].

THE FALLIBILITY OF THE SENSES

Sense thinks the planets' spheres not much asunder;
what tells us then, their distance is so far?
sense thinks the lightning born before the thunder;
what tells us then they both together are?

When men seem crows far off upon a tower,
sense saith, they're crows; What makes us think them men?
when we in agues think all sweet things sour,
what makes us know our tongue's false judgment then?

If we had nought but sense, then only they
should have sound minds, which have their senses sound;
but wisdom grows, when senses do decay,
and folly most in quickest sense is found [Davies, pp. 18-19].

Nay, I say further, that oftentimes we conclude cleane contrary to the report of our senses. Our eye perchance telleth us that a Tower which we see a farre off is round, whereas our reason deemeth it to be square, or that a thing is small which our reason telleth us is great. . . . Our hearing telleth us that the thunder-clap is after the lightning, but skill assureth us that they are both together. . . . Also, the tongue of him that hath an Ague, beareth him on hand that even sugar is bitter, which thing he knoweth by his reason to be untrue. To be short, those which have their senses most quicke and lively, be not of the greatest wisdome and understanding [Mornay, p. 232].

THE SENSES OF ANIMALS MORE SHARP THAN THOSE OF HUMAN BEINGS¹

If we had nought but sense, each living wight
which we call brute, would be more sharp than we,
as having sense's apprehensive might
in a more clear and excellent degree;

but they do want that quick discursive power,
which doth, in us, the erring sense correct;
therefore, the bee did suck the painted flower,
and birds of grapes the cunning shadow peckt [Davies, p. 19].

And in very deede there are beasts which do heare, see, smell, taste, and feele much better and quicklier than man doth. Yet notwithstanding none

¹ This parallel alone of course would prove nothing, since it is present in practically every philosophical treatise of the period, and since the language here is not remarkably similar. It is perhaps worth something, however, as cumulative evidence.

of them conferreth the contraries of coulours, sounds, sents, and savours; none sorteth them out to the serving one of another, or to the serving of themselves [Mornay, p. 232].

THE SOUL'S USE OF THE SENSES

But why do I the soul and sense divide,
when sense is but a power which she extends,
which, being in diverse parts difersify'd,
the diverse forms of objects apprehends?

this power spreads outward, but the root doth grow
in the inward soul, which only doth perceive;
for the eyes, and ears, no more their objects know,
than glasses know what faces they receive;

for, if we chance to fix our thoughts elsewhere,
although our eyes be ope, we do not see;
and, if one power did not both see and hear,
our sights, and sounds, would always double be [Davies, pp. 19-20].

If the eye be the thing that seeth and the ear the thing that heareth, why do we not see things double, and hear sounds double, seeing we have two eyes, and two ears? It is the Soule then that seeth and heareth, and these which we take to be our senses, are but the instruments of our senses [Mornay, p. 220].

THAT THE SOUL IS NOT OF THE BODY PROVED BY WEAK BODIES CONTAINING STRONG MINDS

If she were but the body's quality,
then would she be, with it, sick, main'd, and blind;
but we perceive, where these privations be,
a healthy, perfect, and sharp-sighted mind:

If she the body's nature did partake,
her strength would with the body's strength decay;
but when the body's strongest sinews slack,
then is the soul most active, quick, and gay [Davies, p. 21].

Againe, if the Soule were the body, it should loose her strength and soundnesse with the body, so as the mained in body should therewith feele also a maine in his understanding, as well as in his members: whosoever were sicke of any disease, should also be sicke in his reason: he that limpeth or halteth, should therewith halt in his Soule also: the blind mans Soule should be blinde, and the lame mans Soule should be lame. But we see contrariwise, that the mained and the sicke, the Cripples and the blinde, have their Soule whole and sound, and their understanding cleare-sighted and perfect in it selfe [Mornay, pp. 214-15].

THAT THE SOUL PARTAKES OF BOTH THE WORLD AND HEAVEN

This substance, and this spirit, of God's own making,
is in the body plac'd, and planted here,
that, both of God and of the world partaking,
of all that is man might the image bear.

God first made angels, bodiless pure minds;
than, other things, which mindless bodies be;
last, he made man, the horizon, 'twixt both kinds,
in whom we do the world's abridgement see [Davies, p. 38].

Now followeth the examining of the little World (as they term it) that is to say, of Man. Concerning God, we have acknowledged him to be a Spirit; and as touching the World, we have found it to be a body. In Man we have an abridgement of both, namely, of God in respect of Spirit, and of the World in composition of body, as though the Creator of purpose, to set forth a mirror of his workes, intended to bring into one little compasses both the infiniteness of his owne nature, and also the hugeness of the whole world together [Mornay, p. 209].

THE THREE POWERS OF THE SOUL CORRESPONDING TO
THE THREE KINDS OF MEN

And these three powers three sorts of men do make:
For some, like plants, their veins do only fill;
and some, like beasts, their sense's pleasure take;
and some, like angels, do contemplate still.

therefore, the fables turn'd some men to flowers;
and others did with brutish forms invest;
and did of others make celestial powers,
like angels, which still travel, yet still rest.

Yet these three powers are not three souls, but one;
as one and two are both contain'd in three,
three being one number by itself alone;
a shadow of the blessed Trinity [Davies, p. 53].

In Plants wee Perceive, that besides their bodies which we see, there is also an inward vertue which we see not . . . which vertue wee call the quickning Soule. . . . In sensitive living things we finde the self-same vertue . . . and therewithall we finde another certaine vertue or power, which seeth, heareth, smelleth, tasteth, and feeleth. This do we terme the sensitive Soule. In man we have both the quickning and the sensitive, but moreover we see also a Minde which considereth and beholdeth. . . . My meaning is not that he hath three soules, but only one soule, that is to wit, that like as in

the bruit beast the sensitive soul comprehendeth the quickning soul; so in man the reasonable soule comprehendeth both the sensitive and the quickning soule.

Thus we have three sorts of men according to the three powers or abilities of the inward man. Namely, the earthly man, which like the plant mindeth nothing but sleeping and feeding, . . . the sensuall man, who is given wholly to these sensible things, . . . and the reasonable man, who liveth properly in spirit and Minde [Mornay, pp. 210-11].

SKEPTICS WHO WISH TO SIN WITH MORE SECURITY

How senseless then and dead a soul hath he,
which thinks his soul doth with his body die;
or, thinks not so, but so would have it be,
that he might sin with more security [Davies, p. 55].

. . . Or else they were some persons growne quite out of kinde, shaped in wickedness, and such as had defaced their own natures in themselves, who to the intent that they might practice all manner of wickednesse with the lesse remorse, have strived to persuade themselves by soothing their owne sinnes, that they have no soule at all, and that there is no Judge to make inquiry of their sinnes [Mornay, p. 10].

THE FEAR OF DEATH IN WICKED SOULS A PROOF OF IMMORTALITY

For this idea, the fourth reason advanced for immortality, Mr. Bredvold finds Davies indebted to two passages in Primaudaye's work. The resemblance, however, is hardly as close as the one listed below:

Who ever sees these irreligious men
with burthen of a sickness weak and faint,
but hears them talking of religion then,
and vowing of their souls to every saint?

When was there ever cursed atheist brought
unto the gibbet, but he did adore
that blessed Power, which he had set at nought,
scorned, and blasphemed, all his life before? [Davies, p. 63.]

And yet notwithstanding if these fall into never so little danger, or be they but taken upon the hip, they fall to quaking, they cry out unto heaven, they call upon God. And if they approach but afar off, unto death, they fall to fretting and gnashing of their teeth. And when they bee well beaten, there is not any shadow of the Godhead offered unto them, but they embrace it [Mornay, pp. 10-11].

IMMORTALITY PROVED BY THE GENERAL DESIRE FOR IT

Here again, in Davies' fifth reason, Mr. Bredvold finds a parallel in Primaudaye, but the resemblance to Mornay is just as close. Of course it is probable that Primaudaye had consulted Mornay, but in view of the first stanza below and the first passage from Mornay, which has no parallel in Primaudaye, I think that if Davies drew from anyone in this case, it was more than likely Mornay.

Hence springs that universal strong desire,
which all men have, of immortality;
not some few spirits unto this thought aspire,
but all men's minds in this united be [Davies, p. 64].

Men have at all times believed and admitted the immortality of the soule: I say not some one man or some one Nation, but the whole world with generall consent, because all men universally and particularly have learned it in one Schoole, and at the mouth of one Teacher, namely even their owne knowledge in themselves [Mornay, p. 240].

From this desire that main desire proceeds,
which all men have, surviving fame to gain
by tombs, by books, by memorable deeds;
for she, that this desires, doth still remain [Davies, p. 64].

There is not so base a minde which coveteth not to live forever, insomuch that whereas we look not for it by nature, we seeke to obtain it by skill and policie, some by bookes, some by images, and some by other devices [Mornay, p. 226].

THE PROOF OF IMMORTALITY FROM THE VERY DOUBTS
AND DISPUTATIONS CONCERNING IT

Mr. Bredvold here comments on Davies' "ingenious argument," confesses that he is unable to find it in Primaudaye, and in his conclusion points to this passage as "an illustration of Davies' constant superiority of thinking and writing." It is an ingenious argument, but Davies deserves credit only for expressing it in verse. It appears three times in Mornay's chapter on the immortality of the soul.

And though some impious wits do questions move,
and doubt, if souls immortal be, or no,
that doubt their immortality doth prove,
because they seem immortal things to know.

For he, which reason on both parts doth bring,
doth some things mortal, some immortal, call;

now, if himself were but a mortall thing,
he could not judge immortal things at all. . . .

so, when the soul mounts with so high a wing
as of eternal things she doubt can move,
she proofs of her eternity doth bring
even when she strives the contrary to prove [Davies, p. 65].

Let us wade yet deeper: Who can dispute, or once so much as doubt whether the Soule be immortal or no, but he that is capable of immortality? And who can understand what difference is betwixt mortall and immortal, but he is immortal? [Mornay, p. 227.]

If all that is ever in us were transitory and mortall, we should not be so witty to examine the Immortalitie as we be, for of Contraries the skill is the same. If a man were not mortall, that is to say, if he had no life, he could not dispute of mortall life, neither could he speak of the Immortall, if he himselfe also were not Immortall [*ibid.*, p. 231].

And if any man doubt thereof, let him but examine himselfe, for even his owne doubts will prove it unto him. Or if he will stand in contention still, let him fall to reasoning with himselfe: for by concluding his arguments to prove his soule mortall, he shall give judgement himselfe that it is immortal [*ibid.*, p. 239].

THAT THE SOUL HAS NO CONTRARIES

She lodgeth heat, and cold, and moist, and dry,
and life, and death, and peace, and war, together;
ten thousand fighting things in her do lie,
yet neither troubleth or disturbeth either.

Perhaps for want of food the soul may pine;
But that were strange; since all things, bad, and good,
since all God's creatures, mortal, and divine,
since God himself is her eternal food. . . .

Yet violence, perhaps, the soul destroys;
as lightening, or the sun-beams, dim the sight;
or as a thunder-clap, or cannons' noise,
the power of hearing doth astonish quite;

But high perfection to the soul it brings,
to encounter things most excellent and high
for, when she views the best and greatest things,
they do not hurt, but rather clear, her eye

[Davies, pp. 66-67].

Our bodies do mislike these contraries (such as fire and water), and are grieved by them: but our mind linketh them together without either burning

or cooling it selfe: and it setteth the one of them against the other to know them the better. The things which destroy themselves through the whole world, do maintaine one another in our minds. Againe, nothing is more contrary to peace than warre is: and yet mans mind can skill to make or maintaine peace in preparing for warre, and to lay earnestly for warre in seeking or enjoying peace. . . . What can the soule meete withall in the whole world that can be contrary to it? What then? Want of food? How can it want food in the world, which can skill to feed on the whole world? . . .

The more excellent, and the more sensible the thing is in his kind which the sense receiveth, so much the more is the sense it selfe offended, or grieved thereby. As for example, the feeling, by fire, the taste, by harshnesse, the smelling, by strong savours, the hearing, by hideousnesse of noise, whether it be by the thunder-clap, or the falling of a river, and the sight by looking upon the sun. . . . But let us see if there bee the like in our reasonable soule. Nay contrariwise, the more of understanding and excellencie that the thing is, the more doth it refresh and comfort our minde [Mornay, pp. 222-23].

ANSWER TO THE OBJECTION THAT THE SOUL
IS CORRUPTED IN FOOLS AND IDIOTS¹

But if a frenzy do possess the brain,
it so disturbs and blots the forms of things,
as fantasy proves altogether vain,
and to the wit no true relation brings; . . .

but, purge the humours, and the rage appease
which this distemper in the fansy wrought,
then will the wit, which never had disease,
discourse, and judge, discreetly as it ought:

so though the clouds eclipse the sun's fair light,
yet from his face they do not take one beam;
so have our eyes their perfect power of sight,
even when they look into a troubled stream:

Then these defects in sense's organs be,
not in the soul, or in her working might;
she cannot lose her perfect power to see,
though mists, and clouds, do choke her window-light

[Davies, pp. 70-71].

Yea (say they) but yet we see men forgoe their reason, as fools and melancholicke persons. . . . Nay, thou shouldest say rather, I have see divers which having seemed to have lost their right wits, have recovered them againe. . . . Therefore of necessity the Soule of them was as sound as afore.

¹ Mr. Bredvold allows this and the following parallel.

But our Soules which beholde by the body, and by the instruments of the body as it were by Spectacles; and our mind which beholdeth and seeth through his imagination as through a Cloud, is after a sort troubled because the Spectacles were troubled and the imagination besmoaked. After that manner the Sunne seemeth dimmed and eclipsed, and that is but the coming of the Moone or of some Cloudes between us and him. . . . Take away the impediments, and our eyes shall see cleare: purge away the humours, and our imagination shall be pure, and so our understanding shall see as bright as it did afore [Mornay, p. 237].

THAT THE SOUL RETAINS ITS POWERS EVEN
WHEN THE SENSES ARE LOST

So, when the body serves her turn no more,
and all her senses are extinct and gone,
she can discourse of what she learn'd before,
in heavenly contemplation all alone:

so if one man well on a lute doth play,
and have good horsemanship, and learning's skill,
though both his lute and horse we take away,
doth he not keep his former learning still?

he keeps it, doubtless, and can use it too,
and doth both the other skills in power retain,
and can of both the proper actions do,
if with his lute or horse he meet again [Davies, p. 73].

And this ability of understanding may bee likened to a man, which though hee have lost both his hand and his Lute, ceaseth not therefore to be a man still, and to do the true deeds of a man, that is to wit, to discourse of things, to minde them, to use reason and such like: Yea, and to be both a Luter and a man as hee was afore, notwithstanding that he cannot put his Lute-playing in exercise for want of instruments [Mornay, p. 236].

ANSWER TO THE OBJECTION THAT THE SOUL IS NOT IMMORTAL
BECAUSE IT RETURNS NOT AFTER DEATH

Fond men! If we believe that men do live
under the zenith of both frozen poles,
though none come thence advertisement to give,
why bear we not the like faith of our souls?

the soul hath here on earth no more to do
than we have business in our mother's womb;
What child doth covet to return thereto,
although all children first from thence do come?

And, doubtless, such a soul as up doth mount,
and doth appear before her Maker's face,
holds this vile world in such a base account,
as she looks down, and scorns this wretched place;

but, such as are detruded down to hell,
either for shame they still themselves retire,
or ty'd in chains, they in close prison dwell,
and cannot come, although they much desire [Davies, p. 76].

Another saith, If dead mens Soules live still, why come they not to tell us so? and he thinketh he hath stumbled upon a wonderful subtile device. But how doth this follow in reason? There came not any man from the Indies for many yeeres together into our part of the world: Ergo, there be no Indies. . . . The Soule that is lodged in the lap of his God . . . forgoeth the desire of these lower things, which to the sight beholding them from above, are lesse than the point of a Needle. On the other side, he that is put in close prison (how desirous soever he be) cannot go out: so the soule which is in the Jayle of his Sovereigne Lord God, hath no respite or sporting time to tell us what is done there. . . . And in effect what els is all this, but a desiring that some man might returne into his mother's wombe againe, to encourage young babes against the pinches and paines which they abide in the birth, which he would no lesse abhorre then wee do death, if they had the like knowledge of them? [Mornay, pp. 234-35.]

THAT THERE ARE THREE KINDS OF LIFE ANSWERABLE TO THE
THREE POWERS OF THE SOUL

For, as the soul's essential powers are three,
the quick'ning power, the power of sense, and reason,
three kinds of life designed to her be,
which perfect these three powers in due season:

the first life in the mother's womb is spent,
where she her nursing power doth only use,
where when she finds defect of nourishment,
she expels the body, and this world she views;

this we call birth, but, if the child could speak,
he death would call it, and of nature 'plain,
that she would thrust him out, naked, and weak
and, in his passage, pinch him with such pain [Davies, p. 79].

In the same person there are three lives continued from one to another: namely, the life of the Plant, the life of the Beast, and the Life of the Man or the soule. So long as a man is in his mothers wombe, he doth but only live and grow: his Spirit seemeth to sleep, and his senses seeme to be in slumber.

. . . . As soone as hee is come out, he beginneth to see, to feele, to move, and by little and little falleth to the perfect using of his limbes. . . . But besides all this, we find there a mind, which by the eares (as by windowes) beholdeth the world, and yet in all the world findeth not any one thing worthy to rest wholly upon, mounteth up to him that made it. . . . To be short, a man is prepared in his mothers wombe to bee brought forth into the world, so is he also after a sort prepared in this body and in this world to live in another world. We then understand it, when by nature it behoveth us to depart out of the world. And what childe is there which (if nature did not by her cunning drive him out) would of himself come out of his Covert, or that cometh not out as good as forlorn and halfe dead, or that if he had at any time knowledge and speech, would not call that death which we call birth, and that a departure out of life which we call an entrance into it? [Mornay, pp. 228-29.]

I do not doubt that Davies used Primaudaye's treatise and that he drew from it liberally in his discussion of the senses and the faculties of the mind. I believe, however, that Davies made a much greater use of Mornay's *Trunesse of the Christian religion* than was indicated by Mr. Bredvold, and that most of the ideas about the soul in *Nosce teipsum* came not from Primaudaye but from Mornay.

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"GOODE LIEF, MY WYF"

When in 1857 it was observed¹ from the 1380 Subsidy Roll for Southwark that Chaucer's Host bore the name of a real innkeeper of Southwark, it was not supposed that the Roll in question² would give any more information on the point. Both the Roll, however, and the *Visus Compoti*,³ which also survives, show that "Henry Bailif [or "Baillif"] de Southewerk" was himself one of the four controllers for the subsidy. That he was the innkeeper is clear, not merely from the fact that although there are four men named *Bailif* in the list, he is the only *Henry*, but also from the fact that of the three other controllers, two were innkeepers.

The Roll gives another bit of information which pointed the way to the conclusion that Chaucer names not only the Host but the Host's wife also. Among the taxpayers is listed one Henry Barber and "*Godlef uxor eius*." The name instantly suggested the famous lines spoken by the Host at the end of the "Tale of Melibeus":

I had lever than a barel ale
That goode lief my wyf had herd this tale [B 3983-84].

Could it be that the Host's wife was given the curious name *Godlef* evidently borne by one of her neighbors?

Evidence on this point came unsought during an extensive examination for another purpose of the Feet of Fines for Kent. Between 1327 and 1399, the name *Godlef* or *Godelef*, Latinized as *Godeleva* (once *Godeliva*), occurred no less than thirty times, in all cases but one followed by *uxor*. It appeared only once before 1339-40 and only eight times between 1380 and 1399; but twenty-one times between 1341 and 1376—the very period within which the Host's wife is likely to have been born.⁴

¹ *Notes and Queries*, I, 228; and cf. *ibid.* (1902), p. 97.

² No. 184/30.

³ No. 184/32.

⁴ Feet of Fines for Kent, Nos.: 151 (5 E. III); 424 (13 E. III); 524 (16 E. III); 772, 775 (22 E. III); 871 (25 E. III); 949 (26 E. III); 1146 (31 E. III); 1346 (35 E. III); 1414 (37 E. III); 1557, 1594 (40 E. III); 1754 (43 E. III); 1801 (44 E. III); 1865, 1879, 1889, 1932 (45 E. III); 1905 (46 E. III); 1995 (47 E. III); 2039 (48 E. III); 2186 (50 E. III); and 122 (3 R. II); 243 (5 R. II); 324 (6 R. II); 778 (15 R. II); 871 (17 R. II); 915 (date torn, R. II); 1025, 1046 (20 R. II).

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These deeds concern almost entirely middle-class persons; and although the name *Godlef* is rare compared with *Alice*, *Agnes*, and *Joanna*, it is far commoner than such familiar names as *Rose*, *Lucy*, *Mary*, and *Anne*.

Although no special search for the name has been completed,¹ the fact that it has hitherto escaped notice in this connection suggests that it was more or less local in its use. It turned up three times—as *Godeleva*, *Godelef*, and *Godlef*—in the Lewisham Court Rolls.²

It need hardly be argued that a proper name in line 3984 gives a better reading. It might be added that the New English Dictionary does not quote an example to illustrate the usual interpretation of the line.

In view of the manuscript conditions of the *Canterbury Tales*, it would not be surprising if there were no evidence that some form of *Godlef* was the original reading. It is very surprising, on the other hand, to find that no less than eleven manuscripts write one word instead of two, and that of these, two (Cardigan and Egerton 2726) have the form *Goodleef*, with a capital. Metrically, however, the line demands an unaccented syllable in the word; so it is interesting to find in the Fitzwilliam MS the form *goodelese*; in Harley 7334, *godeleef*; and in Sloane 1685 an approach to the Latin—*godeleve*.³ With regard to capitals, Cardigan and Egerton 2726, which capitalize *Goodleef*, capitalize also *Melibeus* and *Prudence*, two lines below; Harley 7334 has small letters for all three names; of the remaining eight manuscripts which have one word instead of the usual two, five write *Melibeus* with a capital and *prudence* with a small letter, and three have capitals for both names.⁴

If the objection is seriously made that in the Subsidy Roll Henry Bailif's wife is named *Christian*, it may be met—less seriously, perhaps—by a group of questions: Was Chaucer bound to use the woman's real name merely because he used her husband's? Would it have been safe for him to do so, in view of his characterization of her?

¹ It is, however, in progress.

² 8 Edward II, 16 Edward (II?), and 1 Edward III (see p. 81, below).

³ Of the remaining six, Add. 5140 has *godlese*; Christ Church 152 and Rawlinson 141 have *goodleef*; and Dd. 4. 24, Manchester English 113, *godleef*, and Rawlinson 149, *goodleef*.

⁴ Of the total number of manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* (including the two Caxtons), thirty have two words; in thirty-three the passage is known to be missing; and of five which are still inaccessible the evidence is lacking.

Was he hinting at her real name in his "dear to God" paraphrase? Or had Christian died in the plague of 1382—or from some other disease—and been replaced by a *Godlef*? Or did Chaucer, ignorant or careless of her real name, choose with ironic malice *Godlef* to characterize the woman who came home from church and "ramped" with rage because the neighbors failed to treat her with due respect? The last explanation seems to me the most probable.

However that may be, a certain substantiality is given to the name *Godlef* by an earlier record of a woman of that name who was as "big in arms" as Harry Bailly's wife. It seems that on the Tuesday before SS.Philip and James, 1327, Gerard, the sergeant of the borough of Greenwich, gave information in the court held at Lewisham, that *Godlef*, wife of John Rule, "drew blood" from Isabella Stevens, and also that the latter retaliated in kind. Inferences may be possible from the fact that Isabella was fined the large sum of sixpence, and *Godlef*, the more moderate sum of fourpence.¹

What the record shows is that the name was familiar only a few miles from Southwark and in the very neighborhood where Chaucer himself lived for some years.²

In discussing the possibility that Chaucer might be giving the name of the Host's wife in B 3084 I had for the moment forgotten that in D 431 he has the Wife of Bath address her fourth husband as "gode lief"—obviously not a name but an epithet. This is exactly the kind of thing Chaucer does, as many scholars know to their sorrow. No sooner has a theory suggested itself than a little further observation furnishes grounds for disturbing its certainty. The remedy is apparently "theschewing" of all theories or learning Chaucer by heart. Perhaps the latter is the simpler.

It should be observed, however, that although the second occurrence of the expression "gode lief" makes it uncertain whether or not

¹ This material I owe to Professor Manly. The record reads:

"iii] d. Gerardus serviens Borgh de Grenewych venit cum secta sua & presentat quod *Godlef* vxor Johanni Rule traxit sanguinem de Isabella Steuenes. Ideo predicta *Godlef* in misericordia per plegium John Codham.

"vj] d. Isabella vxor Johanni Steuene traxit sanguinem de *Godlef* vxore Johanni Rule. Ideo in misericordia per plegium John Leyken" (Court Rolls 181/4).

² The name of *Godlef*'s pledge—John Codham—suggests that he came from the village where Chaucer is believed to have had a sister Katherine, married to Simon Mannyng of Codham, near Chislehurst.

Chaucer intended to use the name when the Host was speaking, the fact remains that there was such a name and that it seems to have been common in the neighborhood where the Host lived. Whether the proper name grew out of the term of endearment used by the Wife, ironically, of course, or, as I had supposed, from the phrase "dear to God" I have no evidence to show. If the former hypothesis is right, then the double use of *Godelief* and *gode lief* is easily understood as mere coincidence. If the second is right, there is still the fact that the reading of B 3084 is much less awkward with the proper name than with the clumsy insertion of the phrase. But there is no proof which was intended.¹

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¹ Although *Godelief* is the feminine counterpart of the German *Gottlieb*, I have not found in English any clear case of the name used for a man; and even if cases should be found, it would seem hardly likely that Chaucer would use the name twice, once for a woman and once for a man.

THE UPSTART CROW

"There is an upstart Crow," wrote Robert Greene, "beautified with our feathers, that with his Tyger's hart wrapt in a Player's hide, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you."¹

This passage has been of interest to scholars chiefly because of its allusion to Shakespeare, and little attention has been paid to the mediæval and classical antecedents of Greene's reference to the upstart crow. It may be of value to approach the subject from this viewpoint, and to try to ascertain the tradition behind Greene's metaphor.

It is likely that Greene was acquainted with such an English proverb as the one in Ray's collection, "If every bird take back its own feathers, you'll be naked."²

This, in turn, certainly derived from the traditional fable of the crow decked out in peacock's plumage. Greene, himself, in *Never Too Late to Mend*, refers to "Æsop's crow being pranked with the glory of others' feathers." This fable may have been known to him through current usage, or he may have become familiar with it through some collection such as Caxton's edition of *Æsop's Fables*. Caxton follows the classical version of the story as found in Phædrus, first century A.D.³ Here the fable is ascribed to Æsop, though reproduced in verse by Phædrus. It tells of a jackdaw who finds peacock feathers, tears out his own dull quills, and inserts the bright plumes. He then seeks to mingle with the peacocks, but they drive him off after reclaiming their feathers. The jackdaw, on returning to his own kind, is reproached for his ambition and cast out from the flock.

This form of the story, which we have called the "classical tradition," is retained in the Romulus derivatives of Phædrus.⁴ Marie de France likewise uses this type in her *Ysopet*, which is thought to be indirectly dependent on the *Romulus Treverensis* (Anglo-Latin Romu-

¹ "Groatsworth of Wit," *New Shakespeare Society Allusion Books* (4th ser.), p. 30.

² *Handbook of Proverbs* (Bohn ed.), p. 415.

³ Book i, Fable 3.

⁴ Anonymous Nilant, *Romulus Ordinaire*, Anonymous Neveleti, the *Romulus* of Munich, of Berne, and of Florence, and the collections of Vincent de Beauvais, and of Alexander Neckham. For texts see L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, Vol. II.

lus). She claims to be reproducing in French verse the Æsopic fables already translated into English by King Alfred.¹ Scholars have not found proof of such an English collection, but Marie's reference is of value to us in giving assurance that her source, whatever it may have been, also followed the classical tradition in respect to the fable under consideration. In the Anglo-Latin Romulus and Marie's *Ysopet* the jackdaw has become a raven, but in other points these stories follow Phaedrus very closely.

About the time when Marie was writing her *Ysopet*, we find the beginnings of a new tradition in the crow fable. Heretofore the feathers have been *found* by the jackdaw or raven, and they have always been peacock plumes. According to the new form of the story, the feathers are borrowed and the owners are birds of different species. Frequently the eagle is introduced as king, and we have a suggestion of the "Bird Parliament." It is quite probable that the popularity of the Bird Parliament in the Middle Ages affected the form of the crow fable. This new rendering of the story may be called the "medieval tradition" since it is represented by the most important fable collections of this period, with the exception of Marie's *Ysopet*. This type is nearer our thought in the modern phrase, "borrowed plumage." It is also closer to Greene's purpose, for he apparently thought of the young Shakespeare profiting by the help of his brother-playwrights, or perhaps stealing from them, a suggestion which we see in one of the later medieval versions.

The earliest form of the fable in the medieval tradition is to be found in a Bodleian manuscript (Rawlinson C. 22) of the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century. The fable occurs on page 322 in Article 11, which consists of a collection of Latin *Sententiae variae*. Since this fable is not accessible in print, we take the opportunity to give the text.

Dicitur quod quedam auis absque pennis fuit requisivit a ceteris auibus bene pennatis ut induerent eam varietate pennarum q̄ & factum est. Nam unaqueque dedit ei unam de pennis suis. Postea superbiunt ex varietate pennarum. Dictum est ei a ceteris auibus Unde superbus? Dixit De nobilitate pennarum. Quibus auditis resumpserunt pennas suas & remansit nuda. Anglice Swilch cumes tho the plape wel y scapedde. Were ful cuttedde were ho nakedde.²

¹ Marie de France, ed. Warnke, *Epilogus*.

² I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Carleton Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, for the transcript of this fable.

Although the Middle English proverb appended to the fable is not entirely clear, its presence indicates that the story was common in the vernacular.¹ The Rawlinson version is peculiar in omitting the name of the bird and in introducing it as naked at the beginning of the story. In spite of these variations, the general outline makes it evident that this account is to be identified as the crow fable.

This fable was popular as an *exemplum* since it made an excellent illustration of the result of pride in acquisitions not really earned. Odo of Cheriton, writing in the first half of the thirteenth century, uses it in both his *Fabulae* and the *Parabola*.² Here we find the insertion of King Eagle, and in the *Parabola* the motive of the borrowing is given as the desire of the crow to appear well in a beauty contest to be held among the birds. The story as it occurs in Odo's *Fabulae* is typical of the medieval tradition. Hervieux supplies the text in *Les Fabulistes Latins*.

Cornix semel, uidens se turpem et nigram, conquesta est Aquile. Aquila dixit ei quod mutuo reciperet plumas de diuersis auibus. Fecit sic. Accepit de cauda Pauonis, de alis Columbe, et, sicut sibi placuit, de ceteris auibus. Cornix, uidens se ornatain, cepit deridere et inclamare contra alias aues. Venerunt igitur aues, et conquerebantur Aquile de superbia Cornicis. Respondit Aquila: Accipiat quelibet auis suam pennam, et sic humiliabitur. Quo facto, Cornix relicta est turpis et nuda.

Sic miser homo de ornatu suo superbit. Set accipiat Ovis lanam suam, Terra linum, Boues et Capri corium suum, Cirogrilli et Agni suas pelles, et remanebit miser homo nudus et turpis; et ita fiet saltem in die mortis, quando nihil secum afferet de omnibus bonis suis.

Item hoc exemplum ualet contra diuites qui pro multitudine diuitiarum gloriantur; sed Dominus quandoque omnia aufert, et sic humiliantur.³

Another fabulist of the Middle Ages, John Sheppey, gives both the classical and medieval traditions in two different stories. We find the classical in the fable entitled "Graculus et Pauo," and the medieval in "Cornicula Superba."⁴ The crow fable is distinguished from other medieval versions by the term "cornicula" and the detail of a cloak ("pallium") of feathers instead of quills ingrafted in some way. In this version the other birds do not at first recognize the proud crow when he makes his appearance at the council next year, but he is soon

¹ The Rawlinson manuscript catalogue fails to note the occurrence of English in this fable.

² L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, IV, 180, 303.

³ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 420, 419.

discovered and punished as usual. The character of the crow receives more sympathy than is generally accorded him by other fabulists.

In the *Summa Praedicatorum* of John Bromyard we find the medieval form of the fable again, this time with emphasis on the evil character of the crow, who now obtains his feathers, not only by borrowing, but by stealing and chicanery. This large and popular collection, compiled about the middle of the fourteenth century, is now difficult to obtain, so a reprint of our fable may be of value. The following text is from the edition of 1586:

... sicut fabulae narrant de coruo: sicut breuiter tangitur, Ser. 54. 11. qui vocatus ad festum aquilae cum alijs auibus cum esset niger, & turpis, semper tenuit in conuiuio vltimum locum, quod cum grauiter ferret, cautè, & fraudolenter cogitauit, qualiter posset alijs auibus praeponi, & ab aliquibus auibus pennas furando, ab alijs mutuando, alias circumueniendo multas & multorum colorum pennas acquisiuit, quas sibi inseruit. Quo facto erat auis pulcherrima, & omni die cum rege residebat, & factus inde superbus & cupidus, inimicitias exercebat contra alias aues, & non contentus de plumis, quas ab eis prius acceperat, voluit eas omnino denudare, omnes plumas accipiendo, & rapiendo, quod cum aliae aues viderent inuito consilio, coruum inuaserunt, & quilibet accepit pennam suam, & eum nigrum, & turpissimum dimittentes, qui statim eiectus est à regis societate. Sic multi videntes diuites apud potentes honoratos, & ab omnibus anteferri cogitant, quam felices essent, si tales esse possent, & ad istum statum obtinendum congregant omni modo falsitatis. Et reuera si quilibet haberet sua ipsi pauperrimi relinquerentur. Sed in morte omnibus illis pennis spoliabuntur, & ipsi à regis eterne societate eiicientur in tenebras exteriores.¹

This version may have been familiar to Greene. Certainly Bromyard's particularly unflattering picture of the crow would be in line with Greene's irritation against the young playwright, who seemed to him to be vaunting himself at the expense of others.

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¹ *Op. cit.* (Venice, 1586), A 12, 35.

MALVOLIO'S CROSS-GARTERED YELLOW STOCKINGS

The effect of Malvolio's costume upon Olivia, *Twelfth Night*, Act III, is unusual and not to be wholly accounted for by the fact that yellow is "a colour she abhors," and "cross-garter'd a fashion she detests." Nor would her letter and her supposed commendation of this costume have given Malvolio the temerity to speak as he does at their meeting if the cross-gartered yellow stockings had no meaning in themselves.

Four explanations¹ of the significance of Malvolio's dress have been offered: (1) Yellow, especially in stockings, was the court fashion of the time. (2) Yellow signified Malvolio's attempt to appear young. (3) It was the symbol of jealousy. (4) Cross-gartering expressed Malvolio's puritanism.

That yellow was worn at court at the time of *Twelfth Night*, and earlier, could be shown by numerous references: "If you see one," said Balurdo going to court, "in a yellow taffeta doublet, cut upon carnation velure, a green hat, a blue pair of velvet hose, a gilt rapier, and an orange-tawny pair of worsted silk stockings, that's I."² The page who has pleaded with Puttotta to accept his master's attention reminds her, "He may in time grow great and a well-graced courtier, for he wears yellow already."³ When Round Robin and his four fellows made themselves ready to go to court, "on their legs they had fine yellow stockings."⁴ "If he go to court, it is in yellow stockings," is part of the characterization of Overbury's "country gentleman."⁵ Fynes Moryson wrote:

In the time of Queene Elizabeth the courtiers delighted much in dark colours, both simple and mixt and did often weare plaine blacke stufes; yet that being a brave time of warre, they with our commanders, many times wore light colours richly laced and embroidered, but the better sort of Gentle-

¹ See Furness, *The Variorum Shakespeares: Twelfth Night*.

² Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*, V, i, 81 f.

³ Marston, *The Pawn*, IV, i, 44-46.

⁴ Deloney, *The Gentle Craft* (ed. A. F. Lange), Part II, p. 43 (*Palaestra*, Vol. XVIII).

⁵ T. Overbury, *Characters* (ed. Aldington), p. 106.

men then esteemed simple light colours to be lesse comely, as red and yellow—now in this time of King James his Reigne those simple light colors have beene much used.¹

Yellow stockings may also have signified youth, the state of a lover or freedom from marriage ties, as suggested by the ballad called "A Merry Jest of John Tomson, and Jackaman His Wife, Whose Jealousy Was Justly the Cause of All Their Strife":

When I was a bachelor
I led a merry life
But now I am a married man
And troubled with a wife.

I cannot do as I have done,
Because I live in fear;
If I but go to Islington
My wife is watching there.

Give me my yellow hose again,
Give me my yellow hose,
For now my wife she watcheth me,
See yonder where she goes.²

Burton probably refers to this ballad when he observes:

So long as we are wooers we may kiss at our pleasure, nothing is so sweet, we are in heaven as we think; but when we are once tied, and have lost our liberty, marriage is an hell! Give me my yellow hose again; a mouse in a trap lives as merrily.³

Peacham's statement that in "ages of man, yellow signified young age,"⁴ lends support to its symbolism of youth.

As a sign of jealousy, yellow is constantly alluded to. A few examples will suffice: "I should wear yellow breeches" is said by a man suspicious of his wife's unfaithfulness.⁵

¹ Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, IV, 232.

² *Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 137. This ballad was sung to the tune of "Pegge of Ramsey." There may be a connection between this fact and Sir Toby's remark (II, iii, 83), "Malvolio's Peg-a-Ramsey." The Islington referred to is one of the north suburbs of London, a favorite place in the sixteenth century for outings. Dairies there supplied refreshment, and "Venus's nuns" were plentiful; hence Jackaman's surveillance.

³ *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3. 2. 5. 3.

⁴ Henry Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman* (ed. 1661), p. 169.

⁵ P. Massinger, *Duke of Milan*, IV, ii, 24.

For he that's jealous of his wife's being bad
 Must have his legs with yellow stockings clad.¹
 Jealous men are eyther knaves or Coxcombes, be you neither.
 You wear yellow hose without cause.²

Among the rest there was the yellow daffodil, a floure fit for gelous Dot-trels, who through the beauty of their honest wives grow suspitious, and so prove themselves in the end cuckold Hereticks.³

Greene's use of heretic is interesting since yellow is associated with Jews. The famous Lateran Council of 1215, presided over by Innocent III, passed several laws against heretics. One of these required that Jews and Saracens wear a dress which would distinguish them from Christians. Accounts⁴ do not state what the distinction was, but Sandi's *Storia Civile Veneziana* reports:

In Venezia però continuava la misura dei giorni quindecim prescritta dal decreto 1395 e durò per tutto il XV secolo, rinnovatasi anzi dal Senato nel 1496 allorchè vendendosi deluso l'effetto del segnale lettera O sul petto, occultandolo gli Ebrei col mantello o altri modi servendo al religioso fermo oggetto, che con notorj segni fossero i Giudei separati e distintamente conosciuti in luogo dell'O si comandò che portar dovessero nello Dominante, e nei luoghi sudditi berette sul capo in cadavna stagione coperte di giallo, colore cangiato poi nel rosso, di cui sussiste fino adoggi la legge, benchè con qualche abuso violata.⁵

According to Estienne Perlin, the requirement of the yellow cap was not rigidly enforced, in London at least.⁶ Why yellow was chosen to distinguish heretics, traitors, children of Christ's Hospital, and re-

¹ V. S. Lean, *Collectanea*, II, 275. Yellow seemed symbolic of conjugal jealousy only. The story is told of the jealousy of Henry IV of his son, afterward Henry V, "which the prince well perceiving, came to visit his father in his sickness, in a watchet velvet gown, full of eyelet holes and with needles sticking in them (as an emblem of jealousy)" (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3. 3. 1. 1). This would seem to indicate that the blue gown was significant. The Italians have an old saying, "Chi porta il giallo, vagheggia in fallo" (Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 240). In French "être peint en jaune" is said of a man whose wife has been unfaithful.

² Dekker, *Northward Hoe*, I, iii (*Works* [ed. Pearson], III, 14).

³ Greene, *Quippe for an Upstart Courtier*, in Grosart, *Works*, XI, 213.

⁴ Ecclesiastical accounts do not describe the dress; cf. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venice, 1843), XXI, 14. But Larousse (*Grand Dictionnaire*) states, without citing authority, that yellow was prescribed.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, IV, 439.

⁶ "Les Juifs de Londres (Je ne sçache pas qu'ils y'en ait ailleurs en Angleterre) ont peu à peu quitté le chapeau jaune qu'ils étoient autrefois obligés de porter; et presentement ils ne portent aucune marque de distinction" (*Archeologia*, XXIV, 176).

jected husbands is not clear unless they were considered forsaken outcasts to whom the old Scottish rhyme is applicable: "Green's grief, and yellow's forsaken."¹ Perhaps this symbolism of yellow caused Queen Anne to wear it for mourning.² Tawny and black signified grief and mourning:

Tawny and Black, my courtly colours be,
Tawny because forsake I am, I weare,
Black since mine Alba's Love is dead to me.³

Does this symbolism account also for the ancient custom that "if the younger daughter in a family be married before the elder, the latter must dance barefoot (or in yellow stockings) at the wedding to avert ill luck and get husbands"?⁴

Yellow was used by others besides outcasts. Hall (1510)⁵ describes as an "Alman fashion" a livery entirely in yellow. In 1520 the expense account for the jousts at Guisnes included cost of seventy-two yards of yellow velvet for the knight's apparel and forty-five yards of kersey, white, yellow, and marble for quartered hose for the armorers.⁶ In that year six of the Earl of Devonshire's young gentlemen appeared masked in "yellow sattin hosen, shoen and cappes."⁷ "The Duke of Suffort's army in France wore coats, cappes, hosen in bleue and yellow."⁸ In 1581 at the services at the tilt yard the attendants on Philip Sidney, Grenville, and the Earl of Arundel were appareled in yellow and thirty-one yeomen wore "yellow worsted stockings."⁹ These references to war and tournament use of yellow may possibly be explained by: (1) the color in the arms of the family under whose leadership the men appeared; (2) the significance of yellow-legged meaning "courageous," "game."¹⁰

But all of these suggestions concerning the symbolism of yellow,

¹ C. Chambers, *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*; quoted from Lean's *Collectanea*.

² Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 818.

³ Toft, *Alba* (1598), in Grosart, *Occasional Issues*, XI, 104; cf. Nashe, *Spring's Song*, "Summer's Last Will and Testament," Vol. III, II, 182, 183:

Falangtado, Falangtado, to weare the black and yellow:
Falangtado, Falangtado, my mates are gone, I'll followe.

⁴ Lean, *op. cit.*, II, II, 382.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 516.

⁶ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, III, II, p. 1555.

⁷ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 599.

⁸ Stowe, *Annales*, p. 518.

⁹ Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, II, 315-17.

¹⁰ Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*; also Peacham, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

with the possible exception of its being the courtier's color, are really pointless as far as Malvolio's costume is concerned. They have been reviewed only because they are always cited in this connection. But this list is not the extent of the significance of yellow.¹ It meant happy² as well as unhappy love.

Peacham's discussion of the symbolism of colors distinguishes between "pure yellow" and "lemon yellow," the former of which he says "signifies hope; the latter, jealousy."³

In the epithalamium composed by Catullus for the marriage of Manlius, Hymen appears in saffron. Jonson may have followed this in his description of the marriage god in *Hymenaei* 1606: "On the other hand entered Hymen in a saffron color'd robe, his under vestures white, his socks yellow, a yellow vest of silk on his left arm." In Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*, II, i, 159, the rustic John Clay wore yellow stockings on his wedding day. When marriage became unhappy Hymen was said "to put off his saffron robe."⁴

Yellow as an indication of mastery of wife seems to be indicated in:

Ha sarrah, you'll be master, you'll wear the yellow,
You'll be an over-seer?⁵

But a curious judgment or sentence pronounced in Martial d'Auvergne's "noble parlement of love" is confirmatory of fifteenth-century association of yellow footwear with lovers. The case was that "Trois compaignons d' Amours se complaignent contre trois dames, en cas de saisine et novelleté de ce qu'elles entreprennent plusieurs choses, qui seulement appartiennent aux hommes, et non aux femmes." But the decision was rendered that men could have no greater rights or prerogatives in love than the women. "Et sont les dames en possession et saisine de porter botte fauve, pour l'honneur et amour de leurs amis, ou pied dextre, ou senestre."⁶ In another case, a lover

¹ In ecclesiastical symbolism, yellow signifies that clay and dust are elements of the body; that the body will return to dust, and the spirit must not, therefore, be proud. The livery given to servants of bishops seems to have been tawny (Harington, *Nugae Antiquae*, II, 22). The servants of Winchester wore tawny coats (*I Henry VI*, I, III, 47). Yellow and red were used at weddings to ward off evil spirits (*Folk Lore*, IX, 125). Laneham's *Letter* concerning the entertainment at Kenilworth mentions red and yellow ribbons on the bridecup (p. 30).

² Spencer describes Charissa ("full of great love") as "all in yellow robes arrayed."

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁴ Marston, *The Malcontent*, III, i, 182.

⁵ Wadeson, *Look about You* (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, VII, 474).

⁶ *Les Cinqante et un arrêts d'amours* (1460-65; published, 1525); *Le XLIII Arrest* (Amsterdam: Changuion, 1731), p. 406.

was forbidden to "porter la botte fauve pour l'amour d'elle," i.e., the lady he loved.¹

That there was a significance in the color of lovers' costumes is shown by Romanello's reply to Charella when she remarks that women in their love affairs "are ever more secret than men are." Romanello sneers:²

You secret! when your dresses blab your vanities?
Carnation³ for your points? There's a gross blabber;
Tawney? heigho! the pretty heart is wounded:
A knot of willow-ribbons? She's forsaken.

Cross-garters did not present such a complex problem. They may have had their origin in the Anglo-Saxon leg-bandage⁴ which was bound about the leg in crisscross fashion from ankle to knee in order to keep the stocking properly extended. The cross-garter of the sixteenth century was, according to portraits and contemporary costume books, a band placed below the knee, crossed or twisted in the back, brought up above the knee, and tied in a bow on the side or front of the leg. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they seem to have been used by persons who desired to present an especially neat appearance—such persons as Puritans,⁵ pedants,⁶ servingmen,⁷ footmen,⁸ lovers,⁹ and gallants or courtiers. "Greene's Vision" presents a bridegroom dressed by his friends "all new from top to toe, with a paire of greene garters tyed cross above the knee."¹⁰

What conclusions can be drawn from this array of allusions?

¹ *Le V Arrest*, p. 68.

² Ford, *Fancies Chaste and Noble*, III, iii (*Works* [ed. Gifford], II, 278).

³ Carnation symbolized craft (Peacham, *op. cit.*, p. 156). The many allusions to carnation color in costumes of the sixteenth century are not without significance.

⁴ Strutt, *Dress and Habits of the People of England*, Vol. I, Plate XVII. The Ramberg print shows Malvolio's stockings gartered in this way, but the drawing in the British Museum shows only two crosses.

⁵ Furness, *Twelfth Night* (ed. Variorum).

⁶ Maria states that Malvolio is cross-gartered "most villanously; like a Pedant that keepe a Schoole i' the church" (*Twelfth Night*, III, ii, 75 f.).

⁷ H. Porter, *Two Angry Women of Abington* (Dodsley, *op. cit.*, VII, 286).

⁸ Overbury, *Characters* (ed. Aldington), p. 135.

⁹ Cross-garters must have signified hopeful lovers since rejected lovers did not wear garters: "I was once like thee, a sigher—a crosser of armes, a goer without garters" ("How to Choose a Good from a Bad," *Materialien*, XXXV, 14). "Well since I am disdain'd, off garters blue." ("Woman is a Weathercock," Dodsley, *op. cit.*, XI, 30), or Rosalind's description, "Then your hose should be ungartered, etc.," in *As You Like It*, III, ii, 400.

¹⁰ *Works* (ed. Grosart), XII, 228.

Certainly, yellow was not limited to the costume of one type or condition of person. Yellow leg- or footwear characterized boys of Christ's Hospital, yeomen, courtiers, jealous husbands, elder unmarried girls at the marriage of their younger sisters, and lovers. Cross-garters were almost equally impartial in their attachment. But both yellow stockings and cross-gartering are connected with love. A consideration of the evidence in *Twelfth Night* eliminates the probability of Malvolio's costume having any meaning except those of puritanism, courtly affectation, or love. He could hardly have considered that Olivia would admire puritanical insignia. If he had worn them continually as a courtier she would not have been shocked at his appearance. On the other hand, he expressly states: "She did commend my yellow stockings of late, she did praise my leg being cross-garter'd and in this she manifests herself to my love."¹ Malvolio, in view of "such clear lights of favor," therefore considered himself an accepted lover, and appeared before his lady wearing a lover's costume and smiling as he had been enjoined to do. Olivia, at first astonished at the significance of his dress, was outraged by his talk, and concluding that he was insane, had him imprisoned.

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¹ *Twelfth Night*, II, v, 177. Italics mine. This article is not meant to be a complete treatment of various shades of yellow, but simply suggests a few possibilities. It is part of a larger study on the significance of color in costume of the drama from 1533 to 1633.

MILTON AND THE "AMINTA"

Addison remarked of a passage in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost* that "the sweetness of these verses has something in it of a pastoral, yet it excels the ordinary kind as much as the scene of it is above an ordinary field or meadow." In fact, one who had read and written pastoral poetry as had Milton could hardly avoid pastoral reminiscence in dealing with happy rural life of an ideal sort. Hence we may expect to find traces of Milton's reading of pastoral authors in the description of the happy life of Adam and Eve. In addition to the classical pastorals, those of more recent times in the various languages of modern Europe were known to Milton. Among the most famous of these is Tasso's *Aminta*. There is no external evidence that Milton knew and admired this work, though his esteem for the writings of Tasso is obvious. There is every reason to suppose that in later life Milton would still have wished to speak of the *nomen ingens* of Tasso, as he did in the Latin poem addressed to the Neapolitan nobleman, Manso. Even without his Italian journey, Milton had ample opportunity to become familiar with the *Aminta*. It was published at London in Italian in 1591, and in a Latin translation by Thomas Watson in 1585. By 1660 there were three English translations of all or the greater part of the work. In 1592 Daniel included with his *Sonnets to Delia* a translation of the praise of the Golden Age by the chorus at the end of Act I, scene ii:

O bella età de l' oro,
Non già perchè di latte
Se 'n corse il fiume e stillò mèle il bosco;
Non perchè i frutti loro
Diér da l' aratro intatte
Le terre, e gli angui errâr senz' ira o toseo;
Non perchè nuvol fosco
Non spiegò allor suo velo,
Ma in primavera eterna,
Ch' ora s' accende e verna,
Rise di luce e di sereno il cielo;
Nè portò peregrino

O merce o guerra a gli altrui lidi il pino.
 Ma sol perchè quel vano
 Nome senza soggetto,
 Quell' idolo d'errori, idol d' inganno,
 Quel che da 'l volgo insano
 Onor poscia fu detto,
 Che di nostra natura il feo tiranno,
 Non mischiava il suo affanno
 Fra le liete dolcezze
 De l' amoroso gregge;
 Nè fu sua dura legge
 Nota a quell' alme in libertate avvezza;
 Ma legge aurea e felice
 Che Natura scolpi: *S'ei piace, ei lice.*
 Allor tra fiori e linfe
 Traean dolci carole
 Gli Amoretti senz' archi e senza faci;
 Sedean pastori e ninfe,
 Meschiando a le parole
 Vezzi e susurri, ed a i susurri i baci
 Strettamente tenaci;
 La verginella ignude
 Scopria le fresche rose,
 Ch' or tien ne 'l velo ascese,
 E le poma de 'l seno acerbe e crude;
 E spesso in fiume o in lago
 Scherzar si vide con l' amata il vago.
 Tu prima, Onor, velasti
 La fonte de i diletти,
 Negando l' onde a l'amorosa sete:
 Tu a' begli occhi insegnasti
 Di starne in sè ristretti,
 E tener lor bellezze altrui secrete:
 Tu raccogliesti in rete
 Le chiome a l'aura sparte:
 Tu i dolci atti lascivi
 Festi ritrosi e schivi,
 A i detti il fren ponesti, a i passi l'arte;
 Opra è tua sola, o Onore,
 Che furto sia quel che fu don d'Amore.

This passage is full of touches that are paralleled in Milton, such as the fruits yielded by the earth without cultivation (*Paradise Lost*, IV, 332; V, 322), the "milkie stream" (*ibid.*, V, 306), the innocent

serpents (*ibid.*, IV, 346; IX, 520), "th' eternal spring" with its equable climate (*ibid.*, IV, 268; X, 691). All these are possible in *Paradise Lost* without Tasso, and some of them may be found in classical sources. The most striking resemblance to the *Aminta* is found in the connection by Milton of honor with the innocent nakedness of Adam and Eve:

Nor those mysterious parts were then conceald,
Then was not guiltie shame, dishonest shame
Of natures works, honor dishonorable,
Sin-bred, how have ye troubl'd all mankind
With shews instead, meer shews of seeming pure,
And banisht from mans life his happiest life,
Simplicities and spotless innocence [*Paradise Lost*, IV, 312-18].

Further, when the naked Eve received the angel,

no vaile

Shee needed, Vertue-proof, no thought infirme
Altered her cheek [*ibid.*, V, 383-85],

and when he is entertained,

at Table Eve

Ministerd naked, and thir flowing cups
With pleasant liquors crown'd: O innocence
Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,
Then had the Sons of God excuse to have bin
Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousie
Was understood, the injur'd Lover's Hell [*ibid.*, ll. 443-50].

The word "veil," equivalent to "clothing," is the same as Tasso's *velo*; in this sense, it is true, the word occurs elsewhere in Milton. Eve also wore her tresses *a l'aura sparte*, "disheveled" (*ibid.*, IV, 306, 497). The mingled words and caresses of Tasso are also known in *Paradise*, for Eve knew that Adam

would intermix

Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal Caresses, from his Lip
Not Words alone pleas'd her [*ibid.*, VIII, 54-57];

and the "kisses pure" of Adam and Eve

Imparadised in one another's arms [*ibid.*, IV, 506]

cause the envy of Satan.

Of a different sort is the invective against women by Thyrsis, when he supposes that the cruel Sylvia has driven Aminta to suicide:

Oh crudeltate estrema! oh ingrato core!
 O donna ingrata! o tre fiate e quattro
 Ingratissimo sesso! E tu, Natura,
 Negligente maestra, perchè solo
 A le donne ne 'l volto e in quel di fuori
 Ponesti quanto in loro è di gentile,
 Di mansueto e di cortese, e tutte
 L' altre parti obliasti? [Act III, scene i.]

This is in the tone of two passages in Milton. Adam, in describing his creation, says:

Nature . . . on her bestowed
 Too much of Ornament, in outward shew
 Elaborate, of inward less exact.
 For well I understand in the prime end
 Of Nature her th' inferiour, in the mind
 And inward Faculties, which most excell [*Paradise Lost*, VIII,

537-42].

In *Samson Agonistes* (ll. 1025-30) the chorus, in anger against the treachery of Dalila, ask:

Is it for that such outward ornament
 Was lavish't on their Sex, that inward gifts
 Were left for hast unfinish't, judgment scant,
 Capacity not rais'd to apprehend
 Or value what is best
 In choice, but cftest to affect the wrong?¹

If Milton is here echoing the *Aminta*, we have one more indication of the Renaissance, as well as biblical and Greek, nature of *Samson Agonistes*. A number of other parallels between Milton's poems and the *Aminta* should probably be referred to common sources.

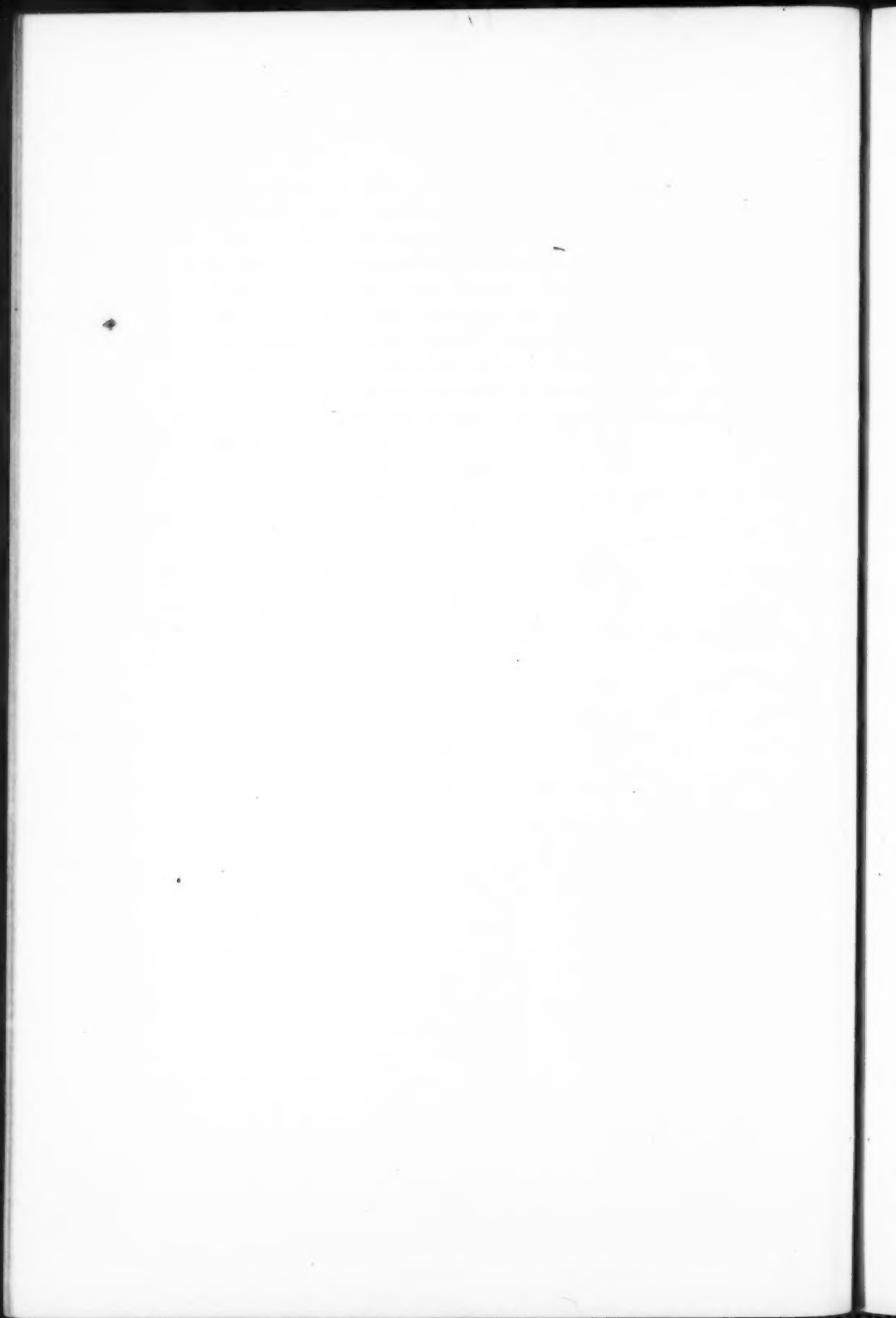
While Milton doubtless admired and remembered some of the lines from the *Aminta* I have quoted, the most devout believer in the importance of parallel passages can hardly insist that Tasso is Milton's necessary or only source for the lines in question. The theme of innocent nakedness, for example, is developed by commentators on Gene-

¹ The similarity to the passage in the *Aminta* is noted by Percival in his edition of *Samson Agonistes*.

sis whom Milton is known to have read. Yet while remembering his learned commentaries on the Scriptures, the English poet at the same time treats his earthly paradise in the spirit of a pastoral poet's representation of the Age of Gold. His characters are, however, stronger and more intellectual. *Paradise Lost* is evidently a biblical poem, but is also much more than that, for its author developed it not merely as a biblical and theological student, but also as one who appreciated and sympathized with the less serious literature of the Renaissance and who was able to bring into harmonious combination elements seemingly diverse. Such power for imaginative fusion of a variety of themes from widely separated sources made possible the richness of Milton's poetry and its satisfying reflection of the many-sided life of his age.

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POE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD HIS TALES:
A NEW DOCUMENT

Within the last two years three biographies of Edgar Allan Poe have appeared in the following order: *Edgar Allan Poe*, by Joseph Wood Krutch; *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe*, by Hervey Allen; and *Edgar Allan Poe, the Man*, by Mary Phillips. Each of these works, and especially the first two, contribute much that is new and valuable to the study of Poe. But Allen and Krutch, it seems to me, lean too heavily on the now fashionable "psychological" method of biography. They explain away all of Poe's own explanations of his methods of composition,¹ and are able to see in every detail of his writing some conscious or unconscious expression of his inner life. They see in his heroes an autobiographical picture; his unearthly heroines are explained in the light of his own love affairs; his use of cruelty shows his own sadism; his interest in insanity and premature burials shows the morbid quality of his mind.² In brief, his short stories, as well as his poems, are the mirror of his own life.

An unpublished Poe letter, now in the Huntington Library, throws some new and important light on this question.³ This letter, dated April 30, 1835, was written by Poe to T. W. White, the owner of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, in reply to a letter in which White had criticized Poe's "Berenice," which he had just accepted for publication.

It will be remembered that in 1833 Poe, by winning the prize offered by a Baltimore newspaper for the best short story, had come out of the obscurity which had engulfed him after his expulsion from West Point.⁴ His position was desperate. John Allan had refused to send him money; he was without employment, supported by his almost poverty-stricken aunt, Mrs. Clemm. Naturally, he was seeking

¹ See Krutch, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 and 113, and Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 612-13.

² See Krutch, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-87, 124-27, and Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 371, 388, 445, 458, and 508.

³ Permission to quote from this letter has been granted by the Huntington Library. One quotation from the letter appears in Mary Phillips' *Edgar Allan Poe*, and one in F. L. Pattee's *The History of the American Short Story* (New York, 1923).

⁴ For the best discussion of Poe's life during this period see Allen, *op. cit.*, chap. xv.

to find some way to relieve this trying situation. He had found that he could not live by poetry.

John P. Kennedy, a Baltimore literary man and one of the judges of the committee which awarded Poe the *Baltimore Saturday Visitor* prize, had become interested in Poe and his work, and had done much to help him. Poe had submitted to the contest, not only the winning tale, "The MS Found in a Bottle," but also a collection of tales which Kennedy had recommended to the publishing-house of Carey, Lee and Carey. When this company returned the manuscript, Kennedy advised Poe to send some of his work to his friend White. This was done, and "Berenice" appeared in the April *Messenger*.¹

Poe begins his letter to White by tactfully admitting the validity of the editor's criticism:

A word or two in relation to Berenice. Your opinion of it is quite just. The subject is by far too horrible, and I confess that I hesitated in sending it to you, especially as a specimen of my capabilities. The tale originated in a bet that I could produce nothing effective on a subject so singular, provided that I treated it seriously.

After this somewhat dubious account of the origin of "Berenice," Poe launches into the real explanation of the story. He writes: "The history of all magazines shows plainly that those which obtained celebrity were indebted for it to *articles similar in nature to Berenice*,"² and then modestly adds, "although, I grant you, far superior in execution." Poe continues somewhat rhetorically: "You ask me in what does that nature consist," and then answers, "In the ludicrous heightened into the grotesque; the fearful colored into the horrible; the witty exaggerated into the burlesque; and the singular heightened into the strange and mystical." One sees in this definition an example of Poe's ability to analyze, to reduce to a formula, a form of literary expression. Has a better description of the Poe tale ever been written? And it is important to notice that, far from claiming any originality in the manufacture of the formula, Poe definitely states that it was arrived at from the study of tales found in popular magazines.

¹ It has generally been assumed that Poe sent to White, if not the entire collection of his tales, at least several specimens. But from the tone of the letter referred to and from the fact that only "Berenice" is mentioned, it would seem that White was not familiar with other works of Poe. For the usual view see the following biographies of Poe: Gill (New York, 1877), p. 72; Ingraham (London, 1880), I, 114; Harrison (New York, 1903), I, 116; Lauvrière (Paris, 1904), p. 84; Woodberry (Boston, 1909), I, 109; Allen, p. 365.

² The italics are Poe's.

Poe then mentions four examples of "similar" tales. They are "The Man in the Bell," by Thomas Maginn; "The Confessions of an English Opium Eater," by De Quincey; and "Monos and Daimonos" and "A MS. Found in a Madhouse," by "no less a man than Bulwer."

A detailed examination of these articles and of their relation to Poe's tales would be out of place here; fortunately, a few words will show sufficient relation for the purpose of this paper. "The Man in the Bell"¹ records the minute sensations of horror experienced by a man locked in a belfrey of ringing bells. "Monos and Daimonos"² tells the story of a man who hates society and who, in attempting to flee from it, is followed by the man he especially hates. He kills him, but the murdered one then forever walks by the side of his murderer. Of "The Confessions of an English Opium Eater"³ it is only necessary to say that when first published it was regarded as a tale of horror and not as a personal narrative.

Although Poe speaks of "A MS. Found in a Madhouse" as "of the London New Monthly" and "by . . . Bulwer," no article by this title has been found; neither the *New Monthly Magazine* nor the collected works of Bulwer contain any tale which suggests it. *Godey's Lady's Book* for August, 1833, however, contains "A Maniac's Story" which is supposed to be a manuscript found in a madhouse, and is a tale of exotic love, murder, and madness.⁴ The title, the date, and the fact that *Godey's* was a popular magazine makes it just possible that this is the story referred to. Certainly it is an "article" of the class Poe is talking about.

Poe might have extended his list of examples indefinitely. Even a casual study of the early nineteenth-century English and American magazines yields hundreds of such tales.⁵ Premature burials, murders

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, X, 373 ff.

² *New Monthly Magazine*, XXVIII, 387 ff.

³ *London Magazine*, IV, 293 ff. and 353 ff.

⁴ This tale, bearing the signature "AE," reads like a burlesque of a Poe story.

⁵ The following list contains a few examples from the better-known magazines before 1833. From the *Dublin University Magazine*, "The Rivals" (II, 84), "My Uncle's Manuscript" (II, 513), "The Spectre of the Log Hut" (IV, 556), and "The Unknown" (II, 250); from *Fraser's Magazine*, "The Unearthly Witness" (II, 171) and "Who Murdered Begbie" (IV, 623); from *Blackwood's Magazine*, "The Metempsychosis" (XIX, 511), "The Last Man" (XIX, 284), "The Man with a Nose" (XIX, 154); from the *London Magazine*, "The Haunted House" (VI, 63) and "The Doomed Man" (VIII, 306); from the *New Monthly Magazine*, "Fanny Vane" (XLIV, 273) and "Precept and Practice" (XLV, 305); from *Godey's Ladies' Book*, "The Merchant's Clerk" (III, 67), "The Suicide" (IV, 19), "The Dance of Death" (IV, 11); from *Knickerbocker's Magazine*, "The Proselyte" (I, 378) and "The Spectre Fire Ship" (III, 36).

committed under strange circumstances, men driven to destruction and madness by torturing consciences, morbid neurotic heroes, and unearthly and insane heroines abound. In the light of these tales, Poe's phrase, "articles similar in nature to *Berenice*," can be well understood.

But Poe is not certain of what White may think of this type of article, and suggests:

You may well say that all of this is in bad taste. I have my doubts about it. No one is more aware than I that simplicity is the cant of the day, but take my word for it no one cares for it in their hearts. Believe me also, that in spite of all people may say to the contrary there is nothing easier to be than extremely simple.

Two other passages in the letter are of the greatest importance in helping us to determine the attitude of Poe toward his tales. One of them is as follows: "But whether the articles of which I speak are in bad taste is of little purpose. To be appreciated you must *be read*¹ and these things are sought after with avidity." Again, toward the end of the letter, he says that he hopes to furnish White with a "tale a month, no two alike in matter or manner," and that "the effect—if any—will be estimated better by the circulation of the magazine than by any comments on its contents." He allows that "*Berenice*" "approaches the very verge of bad taste," but promises that he will not be "so exaggerated" again.

Here Poe states his position very clearly. He has observed that in the popular magazines of the day a certain type of tale holds an important place. He has analyzed the type and can write such "articles" on demand. What the critics say of them matters very little so long as the magazines containing them sell. He might have added that he, a young and not widely known poet without means of support, hoped by this means to make a living.

It is to be noticed that never once in the letter does Poe say positively what he thinks of the artistic merit of the narratives with which he offers to supply White, and with which he was to supply many other editors. Probably the best account of just what he did think of it is to be found in his "*Loss of Breath*" and "*How to Write a Blackwood Article*." In the former he had, three years before writing

¹ The italics are Poe's.

to White, written a burlesque on this type of tale. In the latter, he ridicules not only two of the very tales he had held up to White as models, but the very type itself which he had been writing for five years and was to write for ten years more. He singles out for special satire "The Man in the Bell" and "The Confessions of an English Opium Eater." And what is even more significant, he pokes fun at "Buried Alive," a tale of premature burial—though he was later to write "The Fall of the House of Usher" and "The Premature Burial," tales dealing with the same subject.¹

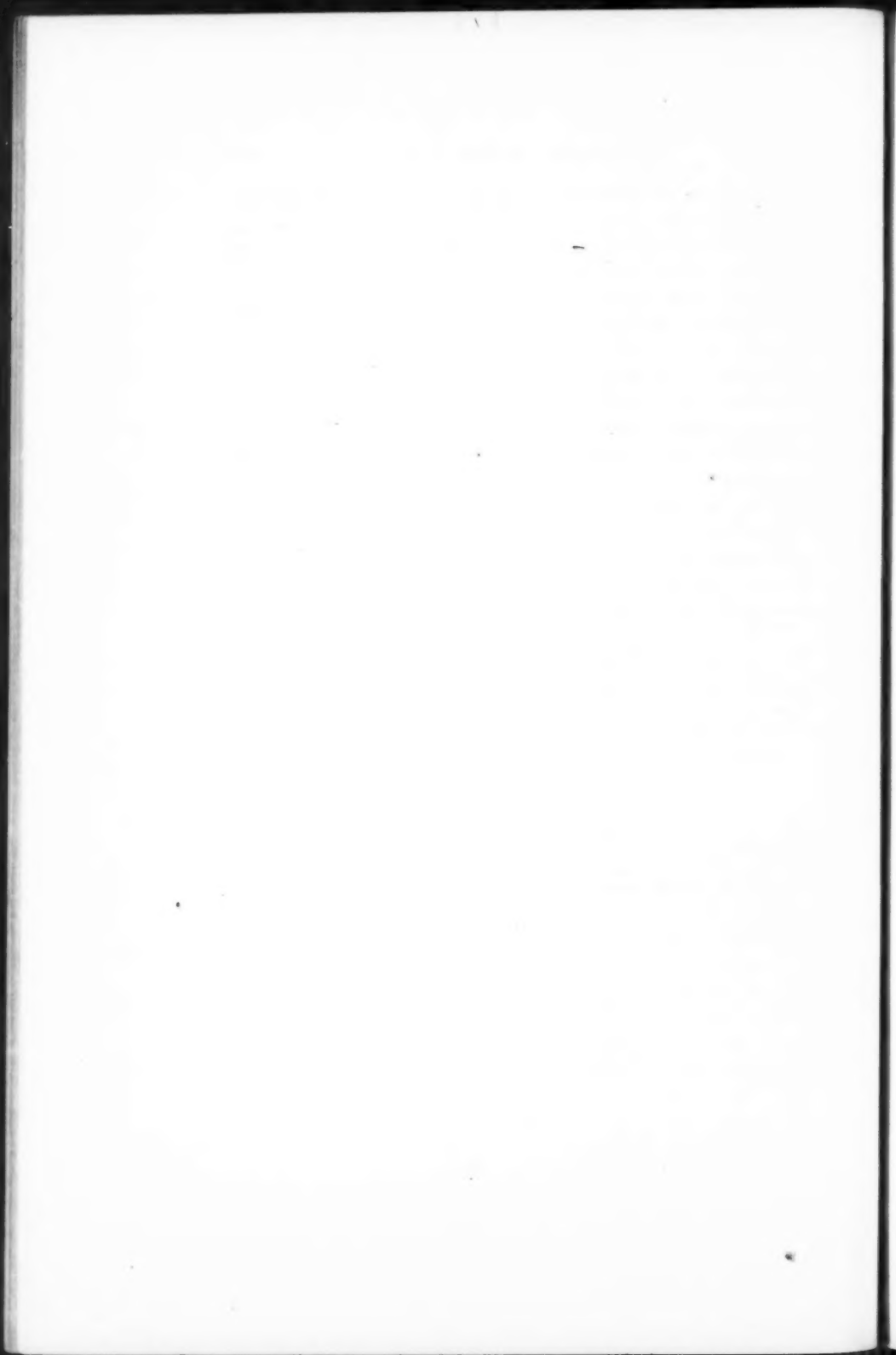
The conclusions seem inescapable. Poe deliberately set out to appeal to the magazine-reading public of his day by giving it exactly the type of tale already popular; he did not take the trouble even to invent new situations, using those already used by other writers. And although he lavished on his tales excellent workmanship and beauty of language, it cannot be doubted that he, at times at least, regarded them as nothing more than means of making a living. He even satirized the thing he was doing while he was doing it.

It would seem, then, that the greatest care should be used in reading into Poe's use of horrible and morbid situations and details a reflection of the horror and morbidity of his own mind. If the use of horror in fiction can be taken as an indication of horror in the mind of the author, then most of the tale-writers of the first half of the nineteenth century were verging on insanity.

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¹ It is strange that so few critics of Poe have attached importance to these two articles. Neither Krutch nor Allen mentions "How to Write a Blackwood Article"; "A Loss of Breath" is referred to once by Allen. Fred Lewis Pattee, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-41, gives the most intelligent discussion of these articles and of their relation to Poe's work.



REVIEWS

Orígenes del español; estado lingüístico de la península ibérica hasta el siglo XI. Por R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. (Revista de filología española.—Anejo I.) Madrid: Imprenta de la Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando (S.A.), 1926.

It is a singularly happy circumstance that the year which marked the appearance of the monumental *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal* should have witnessed also the publication of the distinguished scholar's most notable contribution to the field of Spanish and Romance philology. The *Orígenes del español* is an epoch-making work not merely for the light which it casts on the early development of Spanish but also because of its contribution, both explicit and implicit, to our knowledge of the processes through which Vulgar Latin developed into the various vernacular forms in the Romance territory.

In his Introduction, Menéndez Pidal states briefly his purpose; it is "to bring what was formerly a sort of prehistory of Spanish into the realm of true history." This he has achieved, partly through the use of new documents, partly through the application to his problem of materials already available, including, in addition to the documentary evidence, the study of the toponymy of the peninsula and of the fragmentary evidence offered by Arabic and Mozarabic sources.

A part of the new documentary material Menéndez Pidal now publishes as the opening section of his study. It includes a new collection of one hundred and forty-five glosses of the tenth century from a manuscript of San Millán, the *Glosas emilianenses*; a carefully edited presentation of both text and glosses of another manuscript, of which the latter had been published by Pribsch as the *Glosas silenses*, also of the tenth century; and a collection of twelve hitherto unprinted documents from Leon, Castile, and Aragon, ranging from 938 to 1097 in date. It is interesting to note in this connection Menéndez Pidal's explanation of the paucity of documents during the twelfth century which reveal Romance forms. In the notarial documents of the tenth and eleventh centuries he finds an abundance of vernacular evidence; by the beginning of the thirteenth century the vernacular speech has begun to replace Latin in these texts. The documents of the twelfth century are written entirely in Low Latin. He would attribute this sudden change to the coming into Spain at the end of the eleventh century of the Benedictine monks of Cluny (Bernard de Sédillac was made abbot of Sahagún in 1080 and archbishop of Toledo in 1086). The Benedictines not only introduced into Spain their French script, replacing the old Visigothic script, but through their schools trained a new

generation in a better understanding of Latin, a process of purification which was presently revealed in the Latin of scribes and notaries. And thus, for a century, the current of popular speech finds no reflection in the written documents of the time.

In addition to the documents printed in the present volume, Menéndez Pidal has also utilized a large body of unpublished material from the archives of Spain, including the documents which Señor Navarro Tomás is to publish in the second volume of the *Documentos lingüísticos* from the kingdom of Aragon. These, together with the texts already available in cartularies and municipal or private collections, provide him with a body of material sufficient to trace the general lines of the development of preliterary Spanish.

The body of the work is divided into two main parts: grammar and a geographical, historical survey which he entitles, "Regions and Periods." In a closing section he discusses some of the general conclusions which may be drawn from his study.

The part devoted to grammar does not propose to offer an exhaustive survey of the whole subject. In the various sections devoted to the symbols employed, to phonetics, to morphology and syntax, and to lexicology he treats only of those phenomena on which his materials cast some new and interesting light. But in spite of its eclectic character, the variety and extent of his contribution is so great that it is impossible to offer even an analysis of the content. Briefly we may say that here, for the first time, is scientifically demonstrated the process of phonological development from Latin into Spanish which scholars have hitherto accepted as a hypothesis.

It will not be amiss to cite a few examples of problems which the author has now clarified. The section on the symbols used to express the new, non-Latin sounds is of interest not merely because it shows how great was the uncertainty of the scribes in their effort to represent the new palatal or sibilant sounds, but because it makes clear that the orthography stabilized in the time of Alfonso el Sabio is not an invention but rather the outgrowth of a long process of experimentation during the earlier centuries. In his discussion of the symbols used to represent the *j*, as in *consejo* (p. 65), and in other passages in the book (pp. 60, 77, 285, 518, etc.), Menéndez Pidal refers to the sound as *ž* (voiced prepalatal fricative), although in one passage (p. 288) he calls it either *ž* or *ẓ̌* (voiced prepalatal explosive). All the evidence would seem to point to the explosive character of the sound. The preference of the early scribes for *gg* as a symbol (*conceggo*) can have only this interpretation, for while a single *g* might have been fricative, as in *gerrare*, a double *g* must have been explosive. Even more convincing is the testimony of the Mozarabic texts cited by the author on page 288; for here we find that the sound is represented only by Arabic *gim*. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Pedro de Alcalá in his *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga* (ed. 1505, f. a iiij r²) finds *gim* still an exact equivalent of *j* or *g(e, i)*. And even later in the century the *j* was an equivalent of Italian *gi*.

In the section devoted to phonology, of particular note is the treatment of the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, for here we may see spread out the whole history of the evolution of a phonic group from Latin into its modern forms. And what is most striking in this demonstration is that although the chronology of the different words or types may vary, though in some cases the process of development may be arrested by forces of traditionalism or conservatism, the basic law of this evolution remains identical in all parts of the peninsula. To the history of the development of the open vowels, *q* and *e*, Menéndez Pidal brings much new material and also presents an ingenious theory to explain the phonetic process. Briefly, his theory is that articulatory exaggeration of the stressed vowel produces a division of the vowel into two elements, the first tense and tending to rise, the second relaxed and hence obscured and tending toward a position dissimilated from the first element. The sequence, then, in the development of *q* would be $\bar{q} > q\acute{o} > q\acute{o} > y\acute{o} > y\acute{a} > y\acute{a} > y\acute{a} > y\acute{e} > y\acute{e}$, or $y\acute{o}$. Throughout the series, the stress remains on the second, relaxed element and Menéndez Pidal reaffirms his belief that in general the forms in *ue* in the *Poema de mio Cid* and in the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* were pronounced *uó*. The chief weakness in the theory is the difficulty of explaining the initial step, for emphasis does not necessarily produce a descending diphthong. Is it not possible that the explanation should be sought in the mechanical difficulty of holding a long vowel in the mid-position without some support for the tongue and the resultant reaching for a *point d'appui* by that basic physiological process which always anticipates an articulatory difficulty?

In his discussion of initial *f*, Menéndez Pidal ranges himself with those who believe that the substitution of *f* by *h* is a phenomenon arising from the lack of an *f* in the Cantabrian dialects. This phenomenon, he believes, was one not common to the general Spanish domain, but was propagated, along with other Castilian peculiarities, in the general spread of that dialect. His general presentation of the problem is convincing, but it is hard to accept his analysis of the chronology of the process. If we find forms such as *Ormaza* (1092) or *Ormazola* (1107), in which the *h* has already been lost, it hardly seems probable that the initial *f* in literary texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was still a symbol for the sound *f*. In the opinion of the present writer, the symbol *h*, as used by the scribes of the earliest literary period, did not represent an aspirate but was merely a sign to indicate a following vowel or a hiatus. When Juan Ruiz writes *herren* it is an indication that he pronounces the word *erren*; the spelling *fazer* means that he says *hadzer*. The Old Castilian forms derived from French or Arabic with an initial aspirate point to the same conclusion. Spellings such as *fonta* (Fr. '*honte*') or *fata* (Arab. '*atta*') would be unintelligible unless *f* were already the symbol for the aspirate. The use of *h* to represent the aspirate is probably not earlier than Antonio de Lebrija.

One of the most brilliant sections in the book is the study of the history of the combinations *-mb-*, *-nd-*, *-ld-*, and *-nt-*, for here the author has given the first scientific demonstration of the preservation of the peculiarities of an

Italic dialect in a specific Romance district, establishing the influence of Oscan phonology in the region about Huesca.

The second part of the study, on "Regions and Periods," reassembles the materials on the basis of geographical and historical grounds. The different sections on Mozarabic Spain, the kingdom of Asturias and Leon, the Navarro-Aragonese region, and the county and kingdom of Castile trace the story of the political events which determine the spread of each of the dialects through conquest and colonization. It is little short of astonishing to discover how Mozarabic, or Gallician, or Basque colonists left their marks in the toponymy of the ever advancing "Extremadura." To most readers the account of a special kind of Vulgar Latin, the vehicle of archaicizing Mozarabic scribes in Leon, a language lying between the Low Latin of the time and the vernacular speech, will provide a revelation in speech history.

The section on geographical-chronological principles suggests materials for the establishment of the dialectic frontiers of the peninsula, including a number of maps to illustrate the boundaries of typical phonological phenomena. From these considerations and from the study of the historical materials the author is able to demonstrate how the Castilian dialect, the most progressive of all the dialects, spreading southward in a widening band, split the peninsula.

El gran empuje que Castilla dió a la reconquista por Toledo y por Andalucía y el gran desarrollo de la literatura y cultura castellanas trajeron consigo la propagación del dialecto castellano, antes poco difundido, el cual, al dilatarse por el Sur, desalojando de allí a los empobrecidos y moribundos dialectos mozárabes, rompió el lazo de unión que antes existía entre los dos extremos oriental y occidental e hizo cesar la primitiva continuidad geográfica de ciertos rasgos comunes del Oriente y del Occidente que hoy aparecen extrañamente aislados entre sí.

More clearly than ever before the *Orígenes del español* lays before us a picture of the obscure processes through which a modern language is formed. We catch a glimpse in it of words and phrases, remnants of an older speech, which for a season struggled on in daily use, only to be dropped aside and replaced by other forms. We see phonetic principles clashing with no less imperative principles such as analogy or popular etymology. We watch the conflict between the learned tendency of the educated classes and the simplifying tendency of the mass. Here are scribes, anxious to show their learning, and by a process of "ultra-correction," writing *otorcat*, or *sapiento*, or *audie die*. It is the fluid period, out of which was crystalized, a few centuries later, the sturdily established Castilian of the reign of Alfonso el Sabio.

With equal clarity Menéndez Pidal's study establishes the truth, that whatever may be the history of the individual word, however important may be modern methods of dialectic study, there remains, after all, but one satisfactory approach to the study of language, the historical method, for only thereby may we achieve that perspective which permits us to discern the larger truths and fundamental processes by which speech develops. To that

study the present volume makes a noteworthy contribution. It is regrettable that the book does not contain an index or glossary which would make readily accessible the vast body of new and interesting forms which it contains. But both in its details and its general deductions it stands as the most important contribution to the knowledge of linguistic growth which has been made in our time. It opens the way to new and fruitful study.

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HAYWARD KENISTON

Recherches sur la technique de Balzac: Le retour systématique des Personnages dans la Comédie humaine. By E. PRESTON. Preface by MARCEL BOUTERON. Paris: Les Presses Françaises, 1927. Pp. 286.

Nearly forty years ago there appeared from the pen of two "fanatics" one of the most curious documents ever contributed to the cult of Balzac. I mean the *Répertoire de la Comédie humaine*, the work of Cerfberr and Christophe. This book contains the *état civil* of over two thousand figures which people the novels of Balzac—merely this; a *table de matières vivante*, as Paul Bourget strikingly calls it; a somewhat fantastic reminder of the gigantic proportions of the "Human Comedy," and a *Who's Who* of sorts for the student of Balzac.

Ethel Preston, in her study of the reappearing characters of Balzac, has not been content merely to revise or correct the *Répertoire*. She has simplified the materials which enter into its composition; she has then presented them in a thoroughly scientific and a most readable fashion. But she has done more than this, for she points out the fact that Balzac, in his employment of reappearing characters, created a new fictional technique, and gave thereby an unquestioned realistic solidity to this work, which is its chief glory. Because she has done this, Miss Preston has added a distinctly new and illuminating chapter to Balzac criticism.

Her problem is one of Balzacian technique: a study of the mechanism involved in handling these reappearing figures. After all has been said, Miss Preston is really uncovering one of the secrets of that great vitalism which is stored in the "Human Comedy." She has confined her study to the 460 characters which appear in more than one novel, tracing the life-histories of the important ones, and demonstrating quite convincingly how Balzac overcame technical difficulties and introduced reappearing figures whose psychological and chronological identities were always excellently preserved. I am pleased that Miss Preston insists upon the originality of this fictional scheme. One who is today accustomed to the similar methods of Trollope, Zola, Galdós, Galsworthy, or Proust, might overlook the fact that Balzac was the pioneer in this matter of technique. I am also grateful to the author of this study for insisting upon Balzac's absolute lack of conscious effort in adopting the scheme. He refers to it in the most general and matter-of-fact terms; he seems never to have been conscious of instituting a fictional novelty. The possessor of

great inventive gifts, controlled by equally amazing intuitive gifts, Balzac set out to create a unified picture of contemporary society which would rival reality itself. Once launched upon his task, and determined to *surprendre le sens caché dans cet immense assemblage de figures, de passions et d'événements*—it would never have occurred to this "historian of manners" that a Lucien Chardon, or a Rastignac, their ambitious dreams, or their failures, should hold the reader's attention for one "chapter" of his "Comedy," then fade from sight never to return. And the destinies of these young provincials are woven, naturally, into the finer texture of Balzac's Parisian pattern, through a score of novels, so that they may be viewed, now episodically, again merely fragmentarily; so that when we merely glance over the shoulder of the Duchesse de Maufrigneuse as she turns the leaves of her album of *erreurs*, we see unmistakably Eugène, or Lucien, figures whom we have known, whom we shall meet again.

Miss Preston has studied the technique of reappearing figures necessarily from an angle. To trace the evolution of such a scheme from its inception, to show the gradual development of Balzac's world from manuscript through successive proofs and editions, would have been a task greater than Balzac's own. The reappearances have therefore been caught at the moment of sharpest intensity: at the peak of Balzac's activity, during the corrections which were made for his first edition of the "Human Comedy." Perhaps the most instructive page in this study is a chart which displays the rapid development of Balzac's method after *le Père Goriot* in 1834, through *César Birotteau* (1837) with its 104 reappearing characters, through *les Illusions perdues* (1837) with 116 figures, to *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes* (1838) with 155 recurring characters. A glance at this chart informs one also of the formidable proportions of such a procedure, and the care which must have been exercised in weaving these figures together into a true pattern.

Another valuable portion of this study is the fifth Appendix, a sort of schedule of readings wherein the novels of Balzac are listed chronologically according to their action. This strict adherence to chronology leads, however, to strange combinations. I do not agree with all of the arrangements; I suppose no Balzacian would agree to Miss Preston's list or to my emendations. In any event, I notice that Miss Preston places the works from the first date of action rather than from the date of the main action. One instance: *la Rabouilleuse* is fourth on her list, embracing the years 1792-1839; yet the main action of this novel does not begin until 1822. Other works—*l'Auberge rouge*, for example, the action of which is narrated at some later time—should perhaps be listed according to the date of their action, not according to the date of their narration. Miss Preston has complicated this problem by listing such works twice; thus seven titles are repeated in her Appendix. She has omitted *l'Interdiction* through oversight; and she has omitted (probably intentionally, because Balzac did not complete the work) *le Député d'Arcis*, yet she includes *les Petits Bourgeois*.

Originally written as a doctoral thesis at the University of Chicago, Miss

Preston's book, I am happy to discover, bears witness on many a page to the stimulating presence of the greatest of all Balzacians: E. Preston Dargan.

The study is well printed, and is singularly free from errors. I can discover only one misprint: the name of the *Duc de Rhétoré* is misspelled on page 72.

Glancing once more through the closing chapters, I wonder if any person today has read the "Human Comedy" with Miss Preston's thoroughness. I am struck also by that singular fascination which the "world" of Balzac has always held for its readers. Is this not a real world which has been chronicled rather than a novel-cycle? Under this new "spell," which Ethel Preston has transmitted to me, I take up again my favorite novel, and I read how that strange group sat about the breakfast table one morning, watching M. Eugène de Rastignac receive his money from the postman: Mme Couture and M. Poiret, Mlle Michonneau, Victorine, and the medical students, and the hairy-chested Vautrin. In the background hovers the heavy, unhealthy figure of Mama Vauquer, avidly watching her "paying guests." And I wonder whether Miss Preston, who has herself come so completely under the spell of Balzac, might not some day reconstruct for us the figure of the non-appearing Monsieur Vauquer!

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Francesco Petrarca, L'Africa. Edizione critica per cura di NICOLA FESTA. Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca, I. Florence: Sansoni, 1926. Pp. lxxvi + 298.

The publication of this volume, the first in the *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca*, is doubly notable. It gives us the first reliable text of a famous work, and it initiates the long-promised complete critical edition of the works of Petrarch.

The National Edition as a whole, I am informed by Professor Vittorio Rossi, the chairman of the Commission for the Edition, is to consist of nineteen volumes, as follows:

- I. *Africa*, ed. by N. Festa.
- II. *Epistolae metricae* and minor Latin poems, ed. by E. Bianchi; *Bucolicum carmen*, ed. by a successor to the late E. Pistelli.
- III-IV. *De viris illustribus*, ed. by R. Morghen.
- V. *Rerum memorandarum libri IV*, ed. by Morghen.
- VI. *Secretum*, ed. by E. Carrara; *De vita solitaria*, ed. by P. Rajna; *De ocio religiosorum*, ed. by F. Ermini.
- VII-VIII. *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, ed. by M. Casella.
- IX. *Invectives* and *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, ed. by Rajna.
- X-XII. *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus*, ed. by V. Rossi.
- XIII-XIV. *Epistolae rerum senilium*, ed. by Rossi.
- XV. Other prose letters, ed. by Rossi.

XVI. *Psalms, orations, marginalia*, ed. by R. Sabbadini; the documents regarding Petrarch, ed. by P. Fedele.

XVII. *Canzoniere and Trionfi*, ed. by A. Schiaffini.

XVIII. *Rime estravaganti*, ed. by G. Mazzoni.

XIX. Indexes.

The several volumes will appear not in the order of their numeration, but in the order in which they are made ready. It will probably be many years before the edition is complete. The editors are scholars who are unwilling to work otherwise than thoroughly, and their editorial tasks are, as a whole, much more than ordinarily difficult.

Though report as to the *Africa*—itself jealously guarded—appears to have been the main basis of Petrarch's early literary fame, and though he considered it throughout his life as one of his two main works, he never achieved a definitive version. It is evident that his autograph, now lost, contained double readings, signs for correction, and lacunae, and that it was illegible in some places. He never allowed the MS to be copied during his lifetime.

After the death of Petrarch in 1374, Coluccio Salutati wrote repeatedly to the literary executors, requesting that a copy of the poem be sent to him, and offering to prepare it for publication. Not until 1377, however, did he receive a copy; and even then, apparently, he was told that the preparation for publication would be done in Padua. He nevertheless made a considerable number of marginal notes, intended, apparently, for editorial use.

In 1378 a copy, still extant (C), was written by the Florentine monk Tedaldo della Casa. This copy reproduces the marginal signs by which Petrarch himself had indicated lines which he intended to improve, and was probably made directly from the autograph. Three other MSS (B, K, R) are derived from Tedaldo's copy, apparently without contamination.

The Paduan executors finally commissioned Pier Paolo Vergerio to prepare the poem for publication. He worked on the basis of the autograph, which he seems to have followed faithfully. In dealing with doubtful passages, he utilized various suggestions, among them, in all probability, some made by Coluccio. One of the existing MSS, W, is possibly Vergerio's autograph: if not, it is at least very close to it. The extant MSS of the *Africa* not yet mentioned, twelve in all, appear to reflect the work of Vergerio; but all of them except M (if I read aright Festa's *stemma* and his genealogical statements, which come short of perfect clarity and completeness) appear to have undergone further influence of the work of Coluccio, and present significant variations. M itself varies from W in many readings.

Festa's task was, then, the re-establishment of a text known to be itself imperfect, through the use of MSS all of which bear traces of early attempts at the perfecting of the text. The result is necessarily doubtful in many cases; but the *apparatus criticus*, with its careful argumentation, supplies all the significant variants, and the decisions reached in individual cases seem to me

notably reasonable and wise. I am impressed, however, somewhat more than Festa seems to have been, by the excellence of the readings of M; and am inclined to suggest that the scribe of M may have had access to a form of the work of Vergerio prior to and less modified than the form preserved in W. This would be possible even if W is in the hand of Vergerio.

The last previous editor of the *Africa*, Corradini, knew but seven MSS of the poem. Festa achieved the complete collation of sixteen MSS existing in ten different cities in five different countries, and an adequate control of the only other complete MS (P), which is virtually identical in text with one of those collated. He has made careful and judicious use also of the fragmentary MSS and of the scholia to be found in several MSS.

I believe Festa to be mistaken in questioning (pp. xlii-xliii) the authenticity of the *Versus pro Africa*, written after the death of Petrarch and attributed to Boccaccio. Their authenticity was first questioned by Corradini. Four of his six objections, it seems to me, were completely answered by Hortis. His remaining objections are, first, that some of the lines of the poem are faulty in prosody, and, second, that the poem is not mentioned by Coluccio. Faulty verse, however, is amply instanced elsewhere in the Latin poetry of Boccaccio;¹ and the fact that the poem is not mentioned by Coluccio has no evidential significance. Festa, in renewing the challenge, adduces two considerations. The first is that the author of the *Versus* is guilty of an *ingenuità quasi infantile*, unworthy of Boccaccio, in that the *Africa*, addressed as a daughter of Petrarch, is, in the body of the *Versus*, urged to flee from the home of Petrarch in disobedience to her father's will, while at the end of the poem Petrarch, directly addressed, is urged to favor the flight. This does not seem to me unduly ingenuous—it is simply an appeal from an earth-bound Petrarch to a Petrarch newly gifted with heavenly insight. And even if it were an *ingenuità quasi infantile*, other cases could be found among the inventions of Boccaccio as poet. Festa's second consideration is that the *Versus* contain phrases which imply a direct knowledge of the *Africa*. He cites eleven cases, not all of which are impressive. The clear imitation of *Africa* I 1 proves nothing, since this line, as Festa himself points out in another connection (pp. xxxv-xl), was known to several friends of Petrarch, including Boccaccio, as early as 1362. Furthermore, as Festa points out in that same connection, Boccaccio, in a letter of 1362, "dice di aver veduta l'Africa e tiene a far credere di conoscerla bene." Again, the *Versus* do not appear to indicate any more extensive knowledge of the *Africa* than do the *Metra incitatoria* of Coluccio, which were written before the death of Petrarch. Finally, as Festa himself notes, the brief summary of the *Africa* contained in the *Versus* includes one element which is quite inconsistent with thorough knowledge of

¹ See A. Hortis, *Studi sulle opere latine del Boccaccio* (Trieste, 1879), p. 68; G. Körting, *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 690-91; O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde* (Brunswick, 1902), p. 73; and G. Lidonnici, in his edition of the *Bucolicum carmen* of Boccaccio (Città di Castello, 1914), p. 14.

the *Africa*. There is then, it seems to me, no sufficient reason for questioning Boccaccio's authorship of the *Versus pro Africa*.

It is pleasant to note that Festa makes grateful use of one American study, W.P. Mustard's article on the *Africa* in Volume XLII of the *American Journal of Philology*.

The book is splendidly made in respect to paper, page-proportion, typography, and illustration.

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Contributo alla critica di me stesso. By BENEDETTO CROCE. Bari: Laterza, 1926. Pp. 80. Lire 6.50.

Cultura e vita morale: intermezzi polemici. By BENEDETTO CROCE. Seconda edizione, raddoppiata. Bari: Laterza, 1926. Pp. 322. Lire 22.

Neither of these volumes is altogether new. The brief autobiography, written in 1915, has already appeared in translations, English, French, and German; it is now published for the first time in Italy, where it was originally privately printed in 1918. Of the other book, half is a new edition of the volume of *Intermezzi polemici* which appeared in 1913, half is a *nuova serie* of similar brief sketches almost all reprinted from *Postille in La critica*.

The *Contributo alla critica di me stesso*, written when its author was in his fiftieth year, treats mainly of the intellectual aspects of his life through those five decades, and of the influences which, in Croce's own opinion, went to form his thought. In this respect it naturally invites comparison with the intellectual autobiography (written at an earlier point and to rather different ends) of that other Italian philosopher, no admirer of Croce, who had heard himself at thirty dubbed *Un uomo finito*. Croce's intellectual recollections, like Papini's, open with a childhood craving after books. Like Papini, Croce has nothing to say of any woman (save for a brief mention of his mother); doubtless because he, too, feels the feminine influences on him to have been intellectually nil. With this, however, the resemblance ends.

The present slender volume is valuable primarily as an index of certain facts, notably (for example) in breaking down the apparently baseless tradition of Croce's Hegelianism as a family influence from that uncle Bertrando Spaventa whom he hardly knew. It contains incidentally one or two brief significant generalizations, such as that (p. 57) on the essential impermanence of all theories and all systems. But it is, in essence, simply a summary of events in the life of its author to assist those who wish to study his ideas; and as such briefly and adequately it fulfils its task. We read the book with interest and profit, and with only one regret: the tone, at times, we wish might be a little different. Thus, when the author tells us how a few months' study of economics made him the superior of professional economists in debate (p. 35); when he notes his "intelligenza sveglia e sicura di quasi tutti i principali prob-

lemi sui quali si sono travagliati i classici filosofi" (p. 39); when he cites "un servizio che ... rendevo alla cultura italiana ..." (p. 44); or when he writes "potrei riempire molte e molte pagine col dar notizia della divulgazione ottenuta dai miei libri in Italia e fuori, delle discussioni che hanno levate e ... dei molteplici lavori che hanno suscitato nei vari campi percorsi dal mio pensiero ..." (p. 71).

Turning to the other volume, we find the *nuova serie* of polemic sketches, academic and political, to be, as we expected from the nature of the first part printed thirteen years ago, of very varying weight. The twentieth (and last) passage in the book, *Il dovere della borghesia nelle provincie napoletane*, stands out clearly among the rest. It is an address delivered in 1923 at the opening of a local public library dedicated to the memory of an eager young scholar who had fallen in the battle of the Piave. Urging (on those whose time and circumstances permit) the study of local history and antiquities, well conceived, serenely executed, it gives a sense of sudden calm after the stormy censures which have filled so much of the other nineteen sketches. Two or three others, we hasten to add, are also free from the polemic. *Degli studi eleganti* (xi) starts out with a happy idea, partly akin to that of *Il dovere della borghesia* ... , the cult of lost traditions; then it turns, rather abruptly, to approve a new provision by the Ministry of Education. Another calmer chapter (xix) contains a discussion of intellectual internationalism, occasioned by a study of Karl Vossler's *Die romanischen Kulturen und der deutsche Geist*. In the paper *Sull'insegnamento religioso* ... (x), too, we find calm logic and directness in a rather unexpected championing of religious instruction in the schools. But the other sixteen chapters are all less direct and less serene. One of them (xii), returning to the subject of the tenth, argues with elaborate paradox that this provision for Catholic instruction in the elementary schools is essentially a Protestant provision. Others show a logic still more curious. There is a defense of the ineffectual pre-war days in Italy on the ground that "tutto ciò che abbiamo ... di buono è stato prodotto o preparato in quel tempo ... , sia pure disordinata nell'aspetto e talvolta nel fatto" (p. 285). *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* the argument here would seem to be; and space as well as time provides its puzzle when we read (p. 214): "Tornando alla filosofia (dalla quale ... non mi sono allontanato). ... "

Occasional lapses such as these, however, trouble us far less than does the readiness with which from time to time the controversy grows invective. "Un tessuto di dicerie, sogni, e asserzioni" (p. 231);¹ "chi pretende di esser così, forma una pretesa ridicola" (p. 236); "la loro e scetticismo esteriore e volgare, che niente serba e su niente progredisce" (p. 237); "mere vacuità e stupidità" (p. 248); "stupidissima" (p. 261); "movimento ... gridatorio e piazzaiuolo" (p. 269); "questa infermità, questa fissazione, questa ottusità" (p. 293); "cretinismo filosofico" (p. 294); "odiosa, noiosa o ridicola, in quanto prende

¹ This whole passage (with its quite unnecessary mention, under a deliberately transparent veil, of a great scholar-editor whom Croce much dislikes) is itself a mere undemonstrated assertion.

modi solenni e tenta innalzarsi al sublime" (p. 301); "irriflessione e ... vanità pedantesca ... feconde di ogni sorta di stoltezze e stravaganze" (p. 305); and so following. "Procuriamo di esercitare severa vigilanza e spietata critica su quanti nel campo degli studi introducono tendenze politiche ..."; so says Croce himself in one of his finer chapters (pp. 308-9). We close the volume trusting that he will continue to develop the admirable scholarly side of his researches; hoping that he will steadily reduce the political and invective aspect of his controversies.¹

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Pearl. Edited by SIR ISRAEL GOLLANCZ, Litt.D., F.B.A. Oxford: Humphrey Milford, 1921.

In the recent reissue of his edition of *Pearl*, Sir Israel Gollancz has thoroughly revised the text, notes, and glossary. In doing so, he has shown a commendable willingness to reject ideas which he had formerly proposed and to adopt new ones offered by other scholars or devised by himself. In his usual felicitous way, he has made many ingenious suggestions and explained many difficult passages (e.g., ll. 565, 681, 1193). Two splendid interpretations (in ll. 41, 217) he has derived from Professor Craigie. Further, most of the emendations now in the text are either surely right or probable, cases where the scribe obviously erred and a slight correction restores the author's words. In line 154, however, the change of *wo* to *wope* is not necessary, since the former makes satisfactory sense. In line 786, inserting *fowre* makes the metre clumsy. Could not the poet use a "round number"? In line 1007, *sarde* does alliterate, but the manuscript reading *rybe* is supported by the fact that the Authorized Version of the Bible in the source of this passage translates *sardius* as "ruby." Similarly, in line 1015, changing *gentyleste* to *tryeste* amounts to rewriting the text. Finally, in line 1186, *styekeȝ* need not be changed to *strykeȝ*; see *O.E.D.* under "stick," *v.*, meaning No. 6. The most improbable emendation is that of *blose* to *wose* in line 911. In the first place, *wose* does not alliterate as *blose* does; in the second, it is not found elsewhere in Middle English. *Blose* is pretty certainly a real word, which will turn up some time.

The following notes bear on details of greater or less moment. Line 51, *denned* probably means "took shelter," "made a den," rather than "resounded" (*O.E.D.* *s.v.* "denn," *v.*). The rhyme requires *e*, not *i* (which a word derived from OE *dynian* would have), and the intransitive use of a transitive verb would not be alien to the poet's speech habits. Line 123, *bylde* is probably a figurative use of *build* rather than a descendant of OE *bieldan*. If, in line 139, Os-good's derivation of *deuyse* be accepted (see also *O.E.D.* "divise," *sb.*), it is not necessary to transpose *myrþeȝ* and *mereȝ*; translate: "I supposed the water was a division (or boundary) made by streams between mirths," i.e., the water separated the dreamer (who was in a state of happiness because of what

¹ Both these volumes, we should note, are mechanically well-nigh perfect, excellent in the type and paper characteristic of Laterza. One lone misprint is apparent: a superfluous *che* in p. 236, l. 14, of the *Cultura e vita*.

he saw) from the "mirth" on the other shore. Line 149: for *stote*, *O.E.D.*, citing this line, gives the meanings "stand still, halt, stop" instead of "stumble." In line 197 Sir Israel rightly tries to make sense out of the manuscript reading, but he does not meet Osgood's point than *amice* is not used of a garment worn by a woman. Perhaps his understanding of the word is right; or perhaps the scribe had before him *biys*, misread the *b* for *v* and wrote *u* instead of *v*. In line 215, the editor must have overlooked the obvious meaning "collar" for *color*, proposed by Professor Cook (*Modern Philology*, Vol. VI [1908]) and accepted by Professor Schofield (*PMLA*, 1909). This understanding of the word gives perfect meaning to the passage, which otherwise it is almost impossible to comprehend. In line 226, Sir Israel does not mention the etymology and meaning for *sauerly* suggested by Professor Menner, in his *Purity*, page 72. (Menner's edition of *Purity* perhaps had not reached him before this edition of *Pearl* went to press.) In line 277 the alliteration suggests that *geste* is "jest," i.e., "speech," rather than "guest." This understanding of the word makes lines 277, 278 say the same thing, but such tautology is not improbable. In line 290 the punctuation is reasonable, but perhaps the line should be regarded as one question: "Why do ye men talk idly as if ye were mad?" In any case *borde* here does not mean "jest." Line 439, *pray* may mean "prayer" (see *O.E.D.*) and be subject of the verbs. Such an interpretation makes better sense here than "prey." Line 462, Professor Gollancz himself seems to realize the difficulty of understanding *myste* as *myzte*. See *O.E.D.*, s.v. "myste," sb.,² where the meaning "mystery" is given: compare *Times Literary Supplement*, May 18, 1922. Line 560, isn't *agrete* simply the past participle of *agree*? Line 1028, *O.E.D.* derives *repayre* (citing this passage) from OF *reparer*, with meaning "adorn, ornament." Line 1041, for a long time I have thought that *whatez* may be a mistake for *hatez*; Mr. E. H. Tuttle, in *Modern Language Review*, XV, 298, has made the same suggestion. Line 1086, is it possible that *freuch* is merely a mistake for *frech*, the regular spelling of "fresh" in this poem?

Concerning the general plan of the edition, it is perhaps not proper to offer adverse suggestions, since an editor has a right to plan a book to suit himself. The majority of modern scholars, however, would prefer to have in the introduction a definite summary of the views of those who have written about the poem. For instance, Schofield's interpretation of the poem deserves more space than a mention in a footnote, not only because of its intrinsic worth, but because recent publications indicate that it is exercising important influence. Whether Schofield was entirely right or not, his theory as to the genesis of the poem led him to emphasize what was evidently the poet's main purpose in writing: the discussion of certain theological problems. Whether the initial impulse to write was due to the death of a two-year-old daughter or not, the poem as it was eventually constructed is a debate on certain doctrines of religion. Further, most scholars would like in footnotes (as in the *Belles Lettres* series) the readings and emendations of all those who have worked on the text, and in the notes a discussion of the more important of their suggestions and opinions.

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Aucassin et Nicolette: Chantefable du XIII^e Siècle. Éditée par MARIO ROQUES. "Classiques français du Moyen Age," 41. Paris: Champion, 1925. Pp. xxxvi+98. Fr. 7.

Not all the texts included in this useful and inexpensive series obviously belong in a list of "classics"; it is stretching matters to include Charles d'Orléans and François Villon, "the first modern French poets," in a medieval library, while some ten of the fifty-four issues are in the field of Provençal studies (see MODERN PHILOLOGY, XXIII, 492). But in the case of the famous *chantefable*, no such doubts or animadversions are possible: the work is medieval, it is French, and it is a real classic.

M. Roques's edition is exhaustive. The language, music, and possible sources of the tale are studied, the extensive bibliography is reviewed with valuable comments, while the glossary is the most detailed hitherto published. The unique MS has been scanned anew and reproduced with the most scrupulous regard for even the inattentions of the copyist; thus we have *farre* for *faire*, *luiés* for *liués*, so for *sor*, *missen* for *missent*, even *laiscié* for *laisciés* (correctly elsewhere), and the blunder *ariis* for *ariés*. It may be questioned whether at times this extreme solicitude does not cast a real and needless obstacle in the way of the study and enjoyment of the masterpiece. As for the glossary, notable progress is made in the new definitions of *waumonné*, *prime*, *mar*, *asis*, etc.; on the other hand, the definitions of *engien* ("moyen"), of *traire* 39.12 ("tirer"), of *gehir* ("dévoiler"), and of *regrater* seem rather colorless. As to the last, see my note to *Roland*, v. 1512. This verb, in the form *regrater* (as in Crestien), reappears in Middle English in the meaning "to hawk about the streets," "to cry for sale"; cf. Chadwick, *Social Life in the Days of Piers Plowman* (1922), pp. 63, 66, and Schopp, *Exeter Costumal* (1925), pp. 25, 29, 41, where the editor renders *regrater* by "to retail."

The crux of long standing, *corset* (21:8) is rendered "corsage," "partie ajustée du bliaut." To this the objection is that the dainty effect of the uninterrupted series of diminutives is spoiled; unless, indeed, M. Roques accepts *corset* as the diminutive of *cors*, "bodice"; see now Eunice R. Goddard's *Women's Costume in French Texts of the XIth and XIIth Centuries* (1927), page 102, where *cors* is well attested in that sense. Suchier's *cors net* was one of his less fortunate emendations, but his objections to a modern "corset" may have been well founded, and it is to be noted that E. R. Goddard found no example of *corset* in the sense of "bodice." It is difficult to accept *argoit* (2:5) as the impf. 3 of *ardoir* in spite of a ps. sbj. *arge*; rather, as (*g*) and (*j*) may interchange (cf. *dongon*, *donjon*, 39:21, 25), *argoit* may be for *arjoit*, and this for *arioit*, from *arier*, *harier*, Eng. "harry," a verb well attested (and without *h-*) in the Picard region.—As to the *viel antif* of 1:2, it still remains a mystery, though possibly not a hopeless one.

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DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

RECENTLY DISCOVERED CHAUCER DOCUMENTS

I. CHAUCER'S DEBT TO JOHN CHURCHMAN

Among the bundles of K.R.Writs (E. 202/78 and 83)¹ there were found recently three documents which show Geoffrey Chaucer in a situation of which nothing hitherto has been known. These writs were issued between April 16 and June 4, 1388—a time in which the only known fact about Chaucer has been the transfer of his annuities to John Scalby.

The first writ reads as follows:

Ricardus dei gratia Rex Anglie & Francie & Dominus Hibernie Vicecomitibus London' salutem Precipimus vobis quod venire faciatis coram Baronibus de scaccario nostro apud Westmonasterium hac instanti die sabati proxima post festum sancti Georgij Johannem Wodhere Dier' de Caunterbiry ad respondendum Johanni Chircheman Ciui london' vni Collectorum magne custume nostre in portu Ciuitatis london' de lxx li quas ei debet & iniuste detinet Precipimus eciam Vobis quod venire facias [sic] coram prefatis Baronibus nostris ad diem & locum predictos Robertum Noon Dier' de Caunterbury ad respondendum prefato Johanni Chircheman de Ciuij xvj li quas ei debet & iniuste detinet Et venire faciatis ibidem Galfridum Chauucer Esquier ad respondendum prefato Johanni Chircheman de lxxvj s viij d quas [sic]^{xx} ei debet & iniuste detinet vt dicit Et Ricardum Kypso de Gildford' Dier' ad respondendum prefato Johanni Chircheman de lxx s quos ei debet & iniuste detinet Et Thomam Sprot ad respondendum prefato Johanni Chircheman de lxx s quos ei debet & iniuste detinet quominus predictus Johannes Chircheman nobis satisfacere valeat de debitis & compotis que nobis debet ad scaccarium nostrum predictum ad graue dampnum ipsius Johannis Chircheman vt dicit sicut rationabiliter monstrare poterit quod inde respondere debet Et habetis ibi hoc breue Teste L de Allerthorp' apud Westmonasterium xvj^o die Aprilis anno regni nostri vndecimo

DENTON

Endorsed

Johannes Wodhere Robertus Noon Galfridus Chauucer Ricardus Kypso & Thomas Sprot infrascripti nichil habent in ballia nostra per quod possunt attachari nec sunt inuenti in eadem

Responsio Willelmi Venour & Hugonis Fastolf vicecomitum

Ideo Octabis Trinitatis pro Johanne Wodhere Roberto Noon & Galfrido Chauucer preceptum est vicecomiti Kancie & pro Ricardo Kypso & Thoma Sprot preceptum est vicecomiti Surrie

The second writ gives additional information as follows:

¹ Temporary numbers.

^{xx} Perhaps thought of as five marks; hence the feminine.

Ricardus [etc.] Vicecomiti Kancie salutem Quia Vicecomites Ciuitatis London' retornarunt ad seac [carium nostrum] apud Westmonasterium die sabati proxima post festum sancti Georgij vltimo preteritum quod Johannes Wodhere Dier' de Caunterbury Robertus Noon Dier' de Caunterbury & Galfridus Chauucer Esquier nichil habent in ballia sua per quod possunt attachiari nec sunt inuenti in eadem et testatum est per¹ nostram quod predicti Johannes Robertus & Galfridus latitant in ballia tua tibi precipimus quod capias predictos Johannem Robertum & Galfridum vbicumque inuenti [fuerint] in dicta ballia tua Et eos saluo custodias Ita quod habeas corpora eorum coram Baronibus de Scaccario nostro apud Westmonasterium in Octabis sancte Trinitatis [etc.].²

Endorsed

Johannes Wodhere Dier' & alij infra capiendi non sunt inuenti in ballia mea post aduentum huius breuis

Per WILLELMUM GYLDEFORDE³

The third writ carries the process a little further:

Ricardus [etc.] Vicecomiti Kancie salutem Precipimus sicut alias quod capias Johannem Wodhere [Dier' de Caunterbury Robertum] Noon Dier' de Caunterbury & Galfridum Chauucer Esquier vbicumque inuenti fuerint in ballia tua Et eos saluo custodias Ita quod habeas co[r]pora eorum coram Baronibus de Scaccario nostro apud Westmonasterium in Octabis Sancti Johannis Baptiste predictum videlicet Johannem [etc.]

T' Pynchebek apud Westmonasterium iiij^{to} die Junij anno regni nostri vndecimo⁴

Although the final interpretation of these documents must be left until all reasonable sources of further information have been searched, even now certain probabilities and possibilities are suggested. It seems probable that the debt was for unpaid customs duty, and possible that Chaucer may have been associated with a group of dyers in the importation of woad or some other dye. On the other hand, the association of his name with theirs on the writs may be merely chronological. It seems most probable that he was then living in Kent, since the sheriff of Kent was twice directed to produce him, but whether he was actually away at the time or twice evaded the serving of the writs cannot at present be determined. Although this kind of writ was a commonplace occurrence in those days of slow payment and casts no reflection whatever on Chaucer's honesty, it is interesting to find that the third summons emanated from the newly appointed chief baron himself, Thomas Pynchebek. If the affair became exasperating to the poet, it might explain the malice in the portrait of the Serjeant-at-Law; at least, it shows that Chaucer had to do with the man whom Professor Manly has shown to be a likely original for the portrait.

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¹ Illegible and partly torn.

² From this point the writ, as far as it is legible (it is badly faded and torn), exactly repeats the language of No. 1, except that it concerns only the three men named in it. The place where the date should be is torn off.

³ Above the signature is written apparently an order for the third writ.

⁴ The indorsement is the same, minus the order for another writ.

II. CHAUCER AS CONTROLLER

In connection with the Chaucer research now being carried on by the University of Chicago, Miss L. J. Redstone has recently found in the Public Record Office, among the Exchequer (K.R) Bille, a memorandum of the form of oath for the controller of petty customs in Chaucer's time. Although it is undated, it occurs in the bundle for 1376 and reads (with the contractions expanded):

vous Jurrez qe vous frez continuele demeure [then above the line, with a caret: en propre persone ou par suffisante depute pur qi vous vuilliez respondre] en le port de Loundres & suruerrez les charges des biens qe paieront petite custume & en qanqe en vous est ne soeffrez qe nostre seigneur le Roi eit damage ne perde illoeqes & qe loial accompt eit rendrez & des issues des dites custumes loialment respondrez saunz fauxme ou fraude faire en nul point si dieu vous eide & ses seintz.

This form is shorter and simpler than the corresponding oath in English, dating from Elizabethan times, published by the Chaucer Society, and it gives us the very words heard by Chaucer when he took office. Especially interesting is the addition, in a smaller, different hand, allowing the use of a deputy.

Miss Redstone also found two memoranda concerning Chaucer's deputies at different times. The first reads (with contractions expanded):

Geffrey chaucer controllour de le Wolkeye en le Port de loundris par lauis [then above, with a caret: & assent] du conseil nostre sire le Roy a constitut Richard baret de estre soun lieutenaunt en loffice auant dite de le xvj Jour de maii lan du Roy Richard le Primer Jugez a sa reueneue a loundris

As this appointment was made less than a fortnight before Chaucer set out for Italy, and as a Richard Baret had been successively controller of petty customs, deputy alnager, troner, and pesager, in London and Middlesex, and in 1377 had been made custodian of the custom-house on the Wool Quay, it is evident that Chaucer made careful provision for his work during his absence. As the "Bille" include, besides the memoranda of clerks, many turned in by the persons concerned, it is possible that we have on this strip of parchment some of Chaucer's own writing. It is not the same as the signature on the document in the P.R.O. Museum, doubtfully ascribed to him. But whether he wrote the memorandum or not, it almost certainly passed through his hands.

In view of the discussion whether Chaucer in 1374 was controller for both customs or for the wool custom only,¹ it should be noted how he is described in the memorandum.

Another memorandum, for Michaelmas, 1386, shows that Chaucer's deputy in the petty customs then was not the Henry Gysores who succeeded him in office, December 14, 1386, but William Lamborne, a London draper.

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¹ Cf. *Life Records*, IV., Nos. 81, 82, and the article by Samuel Moore in *Modern Philology*, Vol. XVI.

DR. WHARTON'S TRANSLATIONS OF GRAY'S
LATIN POEMS

It has long been known that Dr. Thomas Wharton, of Old Park, Durham, earlier of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was one of Gray's most regular correspondents and intimate friends. It has not previously been known that he translated into English verse three of Gray's Latin poems. A manuscript copy of these came into my possession several years ago in a copy of the second edition (1775) of Mason's *Life of Gray*. It is addressed on the outside: "To the Right Honble The Countess of Harcourt," and below this, "with Mr Wharton's respectfull Compts." It contains the translations which I give below.

I have been unable to find any mention of these verses in Gray's letters or in *The Harcourt Papers*.¹ Mitford, in editing Gray's letters in 1816, examined Dr. Wharton's papers but makes no mention of such a translation, nor does Tovey, in his account of Wharton in the Preface to his *Letters of Thomas Gray*,² know anything of it.

George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, later (1777) second Earl Harcourt, was a friend of Gray's from 1757 on,³ and it is probably to his wife that the MS is addressed.⁴ In this case the title "Countess" dates it between 1777 and Wharton's death in 1794.⁵ She was intimate with many literary men of the day, including Walpole, Mason, Whitehead, and Stonehewer, and dabbled in poetry herself.⁶ When the translation was originally made is impossible to say. Two of the poems were sent in letters to West, but not published until they appeared in Mason's *Life* in 1775. The third was written in the album of the Grande Chartreuse in 1741. Gray had been intimate with Wharton since his first Cambridge days and may have shown him the poems in question at any time, but I can find no record of his having done so.

I now give Dr. Wharton's English versions of the three poems. The Latin texts may be found in Gosse's edition of Gray's *Works* (I, 174, 177, 182) and in Mason's *Life*.

BARBARAS AEDES ADITURE MECUM

(To West, 1738)

West! on the wing with me to fix
Where dwell Debate and wordy War;
Where Cunning hatches all her tricks;
Where boils the bustle of the bar:

¹ Ed. by E. W. Harcourt, Oxford, [n.d.].

² Ed. by D. C. Tovey, London, 1900.

³ Tovey, *op. cit.*, I, 330. I am indebted to Professor J. W. Draper for his assistance and opinions in the matter of the probable relations of Harcourt to Gray and Wharton. [The translations are not referred to in Northup's *Bibliography of Thomas Gray*.—EDITORIAL NOTE.]

⁴ The wife of the first Earl Harcourt, whom Gray did not know, died in 1765. See Cokayne's *Peerage*.

⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v. Gray.

⁶ See *The Harcourt Papers*, Vol. VII, *passim*.

Ah, sweeter far it is to lye
Reading, or building careless rhyme
Beneath an oaks broad canopy,
Regardless of the flight of Time!

For oft full many a mile I roam
Wrapt in poetick fancies deep,
Tho' dews unwholesome warn me home
And Night upon my ramble creep:

Then wandering, to my raptur'd eye
Each hillock seems the Delphic mountain;
Each nameless brook that babbles by
To me is Aganippe's fountain:

And me the frolick nymphs of spring
Have seen (and as they watch'd me, laugh'd)
What time each sweet that Zephyrs bring
From violet banks my nostrils quaff'd,

At dawn upon the grassy side
Reclin'd, where waters as they play
At every little stone divide
And murmuring cling with short delay.

Then little cares engaged my mind
While yet the opening year was young;
Soon as each cloud the western wind
From Heaven's resplendent cope had flung:

Nor yet such leisure, nor my walk
(Tho' summer fade and scowl the sky)
Quit I, nor Clytie on her stalk
Observes the Daystar more than I.

For Him when rising he distills
Fresh life on Nature, dumb and cold,
And proudly cloaths the eastern hills
In robes of purple and of gold,

I mark, still scattering in his way
Effulgence o'er th' ethereal plain;
And Him, when with a milder ray
He tints the western cliffs of Spain,

Ev'n till on his expiring beam
Steal imperceptibly the shades
Of Eve; till dies his latest gleam
And all the yellow landscape fades.

Ah! how thrice happy should I think
 Myself, if such a lot were mine;
 Like him in quiet thus to sink—
 But not like him again to shine.

I envy but the silent hour
 Shorn of his beams when low he lyes:
 Ah! not when in meridian power
 His chariot rolls along the skies.

MATER ROSARUM

(To West, 1740)

Oh Parent of the blooming rose
 For whom the genial Zephyr blows,
 With whom, begirt with nymphs and loves
 And hailed by songbirds, Venus roves—
 Tell me, beneath what cooling shade
 In indolence, but musing, laid,
 Slumbers my West, his lyre unstrung?
 Or what high theme his raptur'd tongue
 Recites in some Pierian grot,
 Me and my wanderings all forgot
 In Tusculums recesses chill
 Or o'er Palladian Alba's hill?
 Be witness, ye o'erarching pines
 Whose trunks beside at ease reclines
 Old Faunus with the Satyr throng;
 And ye, whom Anio, roll'd along
 Precipitous, full oft has scar'd—
 How oft his name has Tibur heard,
 And Esulae's delightful grove,
 And caverns which the Muses love!
 For me the Latin nymphs have oft
 Seen on the margin dank and soft
 Where the Venusian Bird his plume
 Would lave in dew, and then resume
 The song, that had a power to still
 The rustling bough, the murmuring rill:
 And yet (the Muses thus ordain)
 The neighboring bays the song retain—:
 Nor that I grate upon the lyre
 Harsh numbers, let my West admire;
 For vales like these and such a spring
 Compell me, all unus'd, to sing.
 Here hang beneath each cluster'd leaf
 Phoebean dreams ('tis worth belief)—
 The brook, the very air's Parnassian,
 And all around is Inspiration.

OH TU, SEVERI

(Written in the Album of the Grande Chartreuse, 1741)

Oh Power! whatever name beneath
Thou Worship of this place austere
Thou lov'st that Prayer her vow should breathe
(For sure in solemn grandeur here
O'er woods untam'd and tumbling tides
No secondary God presides;
And far more awfull than in fanes
Where Art in gorgeous state too prodigally reigns,
Where Life in marble seems to glow
And colors from the canvas rise,
We feel in yonder alpine brow,
Yon groves that mock th' enquiring eyes
And in the roar of yonder flood,
The present majesty of God)
All hail! in local rites address,
Oh, to a wearied youth vouchsafe unwearied rest!

Yet to my wish if Fate deny
This solitude exempt from strife
In sacred silence to enjoy,
And whirl me back again to life—
Oh give my happier age to dwell
Quiet in some sequester'd cell;
Safe snatch me from the busy scene,
The cares, the hopes, the joys, the intercourse of men.

LEICESTER BRADNER

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